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Shevardnadze Cited on 'Two-Plus-Four' Talks

LD0108135790 Hamburg DPA in German 1329 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The talks between the four victorious World War II powers and both German states on the external aspects of the process of German unification will possibly be concluded even by the middle of September.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has said that since there had been a breakthrough at the German-Soviet summit in the middle of June, the next session of the so-called "two-plus-four" conference in Moscow in the middle of September would be the final one. This was reported by the Soviet news agency NOVOSTI, citing remarks made by Shevardnadze on the flight to Irkutsk where he is to meet his U.S. counterpart, James Baker. Shevardnadze said that Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's expectations about an early conclusion to the "two-plus-four" talks [words indistinct]. A decision would be made by the six foreign ministers as soon as the officials entrusted with the task had put forward the draft of the concluding document, under international law, on the external aspects of German unification. This document is to be worked out at the end of August and the beginning of September at two several-day sessions in Bonn and East Berlin. Originally it was expected that the foreign ministers, after their meetings in Bonn, East Berlin, Paris, and Moscow, would also have to negotiate in London and New York.

Foreign Policy Needs 'Realism,' 'Pragmatism'

PM0108140990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 90 First Edition p 5

[Commentary by Yevgeniy Shashkov under the "Point of View" rubric: "We Cannot Do Without Realism"]

[Text] Probably not even "artificial respiration" can help the "cold war" now. It is all over for it, it seems. This is recognized in both the West and the East. Where is the victor? There isn't one. And none of the participants in this 45-year long dogfight is burning with a desire to claim this role.

Economists have yet to calculate how much this confrontation has cost the peoples, but it is already clear even today that it has inflicted colossal losses on both the USSR and the United States. Both superpowers naturally, each after its own fashion, have overstrained their own economies and the social structures of their societies for decades. Allocating huge resources to the research, development, and production of new types of weapons, both the Soviet Union and the United States have squandered many of the resources so essential for stimulating social prosperity.

What, in the final analysis, did we achieve through our mutual "efforts" in the "cold war" years? Above all the militarization of the world. Today there is no point on our planet that could not be hit within a few minutes by a Soviet or American missile. There is no state on the globe nowadays which could not buy arms on credit from the superpowers, directly or via intermediaries.

However, military power is nowadays losing its significance both at the global level where nuclear arsenals have exceeded all conceivable limits, and at lower levels. It is almost impossible now to resolve a single regional problem with the aid of military means. In recent decades in "local wars" on a larger scale than Grenada, the Falklands, or Panama, no one has gained complete victory. Only in backward countries and by conservative politicians are wars still viewed in Clausewitz' sense, that is as the continuation of politics by other means; and even here this is in application to only internal conflicts.

On the other hand, the significance of the economic and technological elements of "state power" are growing sharply. A kind of transformation in the definition of the concept of strength into more civilized, less destructive forms is taking place. An example of this is Japan and Germany. Having suffered defeat in World War II, only a few decades later they again became a world force, but not on the level of military might. I see in this the most serious challenge of the entire postwar period, for the United States as well. But, of course, it must cause the greatest anxiety in our country.

Let us be frank: Right up to the proclamation of the new thinking, the Soviet Union's high rating in international affairs was ensured in many ways thanks to its enormous military might. They were simply frightened of us. At what price we acquired this prestige is well known today. During the 11th and 12th Five Year Plans, military expenditure grew by 45 percent every five years, i.e. by an average of nine percent per annum. U.S. expenditure, in 1988-99 for example, grew by only 2.02 percent. The proportionate weight of military expenditure in our country reached 18 percent of national income, something no other state in the world allowed itself. Just a little bit more and we could have claimed a place in the Guinness Book of Records.

We did not react in time to the substantial changes affecting our "national security" formula: the diminution of external and military factors as well as the increasing significance of internal factors, above all social and interethnic factors. All well and good that perestroyka had arrived, but much was neglected all the same. As a result, however painful it is to confess, much of what we were once proud has been squandered. Moreover, the gap between the USSR and the industrial countries in the most important spheres of modern technology—in general political culture, in longevity of life, etc.—has grown larger still.

It is by no means my wish to rub salt into wounds that are well known to all. The point lies elsewhere. We cannot deceive ourselves any more by refusing to acknowledge reality: In the modern world world we are a long way from occupying the place which we saw through

the prism of nuclear missile parity. As the demilitarization of the international community progresses—and we consider such a course the correct strategy—this will become obvious to all and life itself will determine our real role and status in the world.

Yes, in the years of perestroyka our foreign policy has made a genuine leap forward, and its successes are genuine. But this is not the time to rest on our laurels. In my view, we must bring our foreign policy ambitions into line with our genuine socioeconomic ammunition as quickly as possible. If our foreign policy is assessed from these viewpoints, there is only one choice that can be made in my view: to give up the messianic cross we voluntarily bore and go over to a strategy of pragmatism, or the allied concept of "enlightened self-interest" in international affairs.

The need for this has already been substantiated by a number of Soviet academics. The essence of their views, to resort to the shorthand style, boils down to the following: taking stock of the country's existing obligations; elaborating new approaches; reexamining many treaties and agreements that have become burdensome and at times simply detrimental to the Soviet Union; reevaluating, with our serious current internal problems as the starting point, the scale of economic and military aid to other countries and the volume and direction of arms exports. At the same time, it seems to me, this stocktaking must touch all trends in foreign policy without exception, including cooperation with the former members of the "socialist community." The first steps in this respect are being made. I have in mind the 1991 transition of Soviet trade with other members of CEMA to competitive world prices. Trade in world prices makes conditions equal for everybody. Henceforth no one will enjoy artificial advantages.

Other elements in the strategy of pragmatism are also becoming discernible. The basis of this strategy, its supporting framework, may be the equal, mutually advantageous cooperation of the USSR and the United States, a united Germany and other European countries, the states of Asia-Pacific region including China and Japan, and the "new industrial countries" of all regions.

The London session of NATO, the meeting of the "seven" in Houston, Chancellor Kohl's recent talks in the Soviet Union—this is as yet only the beginning of a complex process of genuine rapprochement within the world community in which our country is also becoming a fully equal participant. It will not be simple for the USSR to finally liberate itself from old dogmas, past stereotypes, and the false priorities that went with them and attempt to occupy its true, perhaps as yet more modest place in the new world. An exceptional amount will depend on our ability to make a decisive breakthrough in economic transformations—after all, domestic and foreign policy are two sides of the same coin. And we will not get by without pragmatism in these matter. Without it, there will be no real policy.

USSR Recognizes West's Methods as Best Aid

90UF0396A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 30, 28 Jul 90 p 8

[Article by B. Yunanov under the rubric "East-West": "Rely on Aid... But It Is Only a Stimulus for Our Own Resolution"]

[Text] We thank our newfound friends on the Rhine for their bounty: Chancellor Kohl's 5 billion marks will certainly not harm our homeland's gravely ill economy. Although most probably it will swallow these 5 billion like an aspirin tablet: The high temperature will fall, but healing will not take place without other medical measures. In other words, rely on the mark, but do not slip up—that is the first thing. The second thing is that the FRG is not the whole West, although it is a significant part of it.

An economy is nothing more than a form of state thinking which has arisen. We all remember that last year our consumer market found itself for the first time in a severe crisis. It seems that even the wives of ministers found it hard without laundry powder and soap. An immediate way out of the situation, most probably the only one given our position, was found: urgent mass purchases of consumer goods in the West, from soap to women's pantyhose and blades for shaving. However at the same time that Deputy Minister of Trade Sorokin was cheerfully reporting in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY on the purchases of large shipments of goods (those same centralized purchases), in another newspaper the surgeon Amosov, made wise by the experiences of life, was predicting skeptically that the lion's share of the imports would disappear along the channels of hidden distribution and the black market. A year has passed. Have you, the reader, been benefited by the wasted hard-currency rubles? True, it is no longer impossible to find laundry powder on the shelves. But many other things have disappeared. What should we do? Make more purchases?

An agonized command distribution system has worked out a crude law for maintaining a shortage: The shortage does not disappear and does not appear either; it simply moves smoothly from one category of goods to another. But it shows a tremendous lack of foresight to struggle with an illness without addressing its catalysts. Conclusion: This system will behave in about the same fashion with any aid of any type and volume. Then what should we do—renounce aid? That is not required at all. It should simply end up in other hands, those which are not soiled by dogmatism and incompetence. And this means that society must orient itself toward the idea that any economic aid is a supplementary stimulus for our own resolution to radically reform the economy, and not the reverse under any circumstance.

What does the West think about this? Approximately the same thing, as was demonstrated by a recent meeting of the heads of the "seven" in Houston and a visit to

Moscow by Jacques Delors, chairman of the Commission of European Communities. We will also add the numerous oral statements of western politicians to the effect that the true reasons for the crisis in the USSR are concealed in the delay of economic reforms and that only the Soviet people themselves can eliminate them. As a result the West has decided that for aid to the Soviet Union it "must know what the problems are, where they are, how much effort and money they require, and exactly when they are required—in a word, professional evaluations are needed" (I am quoting Nicholas Brady, U.S. secretary of the treasury). The West has decided that the best help it can render us at the present time is through consultations in the sphere of reforms at the level of experts, inasmuch as "friends do not help by throwing money down a bottomless pit" (quoting Douglas Hurd, the United Kingdom's secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs).

As you see, it is not a question of whether to render the USSR aid, but rather how to render it with the greatest long-term effect. And by posing the question in this manner the changing nature of our mutual relations with the West becomes apparent: Any problems are being decided as a partnership, not a competition—and that is the main thing. But no less important is the fact that this supposedly purely foreign economics question has taken on a clearly expressed domestic policy implication in the current situation. Opponents of Gorbachev at various levels of party and state structures are also in favor of aid—but they are exclusively in favor of massed financial aid in the form of immediate loans and credits. They understand that this is the only way they can prolong the existence of the outdated structure of centralized economics. But now it is a question of power. It is here, "on the ruins of the economy," according to the apt expression of one of the West German newspapers, that the border of the struggle between the old and the new runs.

Previously the Kremlin was very dissatisfied if it asked for one thing at a high level but received something else. Gorbachev has learned much better than his predecessors that politics is the art of the possible. Moreover, he himself has excelled at that art. In agreeing to wide-scale consultative help on the part of the West instead of direct aid, our president has not abandoned his strategic goal. Because, in addition, such aid is one of the ways out of 50 years of macrointellectual isolation which has sacrificed a great country to an economic utopia. Until we overcome our self-isolation, our economy will never heal.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze, Baker Continue Talks 1 Aug

Review Bilateral Ties

LD0108171790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By diplomatic correspondent Viktor Levin]

[Text] During the day today, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and James Baker twice sat down at the negotiating table. Altogether they occupied over three hours, but since they spent the whole day together—lunch, a walk along the Angara and Baykal, dinner—their talks lasted longer still. At every convenient occasion, the journalists overwhelmed the ministers with questions. First, everyone was interested in the contents of the agenda, and then about what specifically they had discussed, and what had they reached agreement on. The ministers answered the questions amiably, but—and this is why they are diplomats, to speak with restraint—only to say that they were blocking the progress to confidental talks.

From what Shevardnadze and Baker said, and also according to information I received from authoritative sources—you see, I too am beginning to talk like a diplomat; the situation demands it—one may draw the conclusion that today's first talks were devoted to problems of preparing a treaty on reduction of strategic offensive weapons, while the second talks were on issues of bilateral relations and regional conflicts. I will make so bold as to reveal some of the contents of the talks, but right away I must say that boldness is not defined as reckless daring, but by the information that has become available to me.

I remind you that at the Washington summit meeting at the end of May and beginning of June, Presidents Gorbachev and Bush adopted the so-called framework agreement on strategic offensive weapons. It outlined the basic parameters for reduction, and agreement was reached to the effect that a treaty would be elaborated and signed before the end of the year. Time is flying by, but negotiations on elaborating the treaty are going routinely, as we were told by Shevardnadze. Now today the ministers discussed the remaining unresolved questions in order to find a mutually acceptable solution.

In the evening, they talked, first of all, about bilateral relations. They dealt with the question of technical help from the United States to the Soviet Union. Both Shevardnadze and Baker expressed confidence that progress is possible in this area. I want to stress that the Soviet side put forward a number of new ideas on the level of bilateral cooperation. We are not insisting on a one-way traffic from the United States to the USSR; we want it to be real cooperation of the two countries in both directions. There were quite a few interesting ideas put forward, as was reported by those same authorative sources from the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is proposed to conclude a number of intergovernmental agreements on reciprocal encouragement and protection of capital investment—I am confident that the economists will pay special attention to that—on cooperation in construction of housing—and this is of close interest to everybody—on cooperation in the area of tourism. A full program is proposed in the area of science, technology, and medicine. There is also a interesting proposal in the area of transnational problems, including the ecology, the fight against terrorism, and the illegal marketing of narcotics. We also would like to settle the problems of new administrative buildings for the USSR Embassy in Washington and that of the United States in Moscow, but here the problem is that the Americans feel that their building in Moscow is unsuitable, and therefore they are not allowing our diplomats in Washington to move to the new building put up there. As they say, the owner rules the roost, but it must be solved, otherwise it could run on for years.

They also discussed regional problems, but we will tell you about them in the next bulletin.

Discuss Disarmament, Space

LD0108172790 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By TASS special correspondents Georgiy Shmelev, Konstantin Voitsekhovich, and Vladimir Khody]

[Text] Irkutsk, Eastern Siberia August 1 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker ended the first day of their working meeting in Siberia with two-hour one-on-one talks at the scenic Angarskiye Khutora locality on the bank of the Angara River not far from the city of Irkutsk.

The talks continued the discussion of disarmament issues and various aspects of bilateral relations started this morning.

Shevardnadze and Baker also dealt with a number of regional issues and compared notes on prospects for developing Soviet-U.S. contacts in diverse fields.

They, specifically, discussed the possibility of signing agreements on such matters as the mutual encouragement and protection of capital investments, the avoidance of double taxation, and the settlement of mutual financial and property claims.

They also discussed terms of an arrangement on cooperation in the fuel and energy field, tourism, forestry, housing construction, the forecasting of natural calamities and efforts to deal with their consequences.

Shevardnadze and Baker also discussed projects related to peaceful uses of outer space, including cooperation in the exploration of the moon and Mars, an international service to protect the earth from space by monitoring natural and artificial space objects, and the development of unified means of rescue in space and life-supporting systems.

They also discussed plans to open cultural and information centres of the USSR and the United States in Washington and Moscow and a Soviet culture and technology centre in Chicago, as well as an international children's camp project in Georgia.

Shevardnadze and Baker carried on the discussion during a walk along the Angara bank and even during a joint try at fishing.

Late at night Shevardnadze hosted a dinner for Baker.

The two foreign ministers will have their third and final meeting early on Thursday, after which they will hold a joint news conference.

Bid To Resolve Treaty Problems

LD0108210190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Report from Irkutsk by correspondent Viktor Levin on the conclusion of the first day of talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker]

[Text] As I have already said in my previous reports, in the morning the talks focused on problems of drafting a treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons. As I understand it, the ministers are trying to resolve the remaining problems so that the treaty, as established at the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington, can be prepared and signed before the end of the year.

In the evening, the talks centered on bilateral relations. And our country has put forward a whole range of proposals, the implementation of which, I am deeply convinced, will not only enable closer and fuller cooperation between our countries, but will also affect favorably our daily life. Here is one example: We are putting forward the idea of cooperation in the sphere of housing construction. And there are many examples like this one. I have already talked about this at length.

And now I would like to dwell upon regional problems. Since this morning the American journalists have kept asking about Afghanistan. The questions were designed to obtain some sensational answers. Afghanistan was indeed discussed. But, as I have understood from my conversations with some employees of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was treated not in the way in which the Americans asked.

They—I wish to state this as a fact without analyzing it—have formed the impression that President Najibullah is allegedly ready to abandon power. The Afghan president has now arrived in the USSR on holiday but there are no grounds to draw such far fetched conclusions. At least this is my impression. Even more can be said about this, in my view: There can be observed of late mutual understanding in the approaches to regional conflicts. Eduard Ambvrosiyevich Shevardnadze drew out attention to this even before the beginning of the talks. This is perhaps especially noticable from the example of Cambodia.

But as was planned before, what was due to be under discussion was not only Cambodia but also the Near East, the Horn of Africa, and the Korean peninsula. Very unusual processes are under way there.

There will be another meeting tomorrow. At this meeting, the ministers intend to discuss the progress of the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional Armed Forces and armaments. Time is pressing. A conference of the heads of states and governments of the 35 states involved in the Helsinki process is scheduled to be held in Paris in the second half of November. By that time, an agreement on conventional weapons must be developed. Then a final news conference is to be held. One would like to hope that the ministers will be frank. At 1130 local time, when it is 1830 in Moscow, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze plans to leave for Moscow. Fifteen minutes before that James Baker is to leave for Ulaanbaatar.

Meet With Correspondents

LD0108201790 Moscow TASS in English 1938 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By TASS special correspondents Konstantin Voitsekhovich, Georgiy Shmelev, and Vladimir Khody]

[Text] Irkutsk (Eastern Siberia) August 1 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told Soviet journalists that the sides "thoroughly discussed the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, including the Korean peninsula".

He noted that they reached better understanding on the region's problems and decided "to permanently hold the dialogue with the United States on the Asia-Pacific Region".

Meeting correspondents at the hotel late in the evening after a dinner for James Baker, Shevardnadze also said that during the talks the two sides examined European questions concerning preparations for a European summit.

"There was a useful conversation, and we have achieved an understanding," he noted.

Speaking about Afghanistan, Shevardnadze said: "We began the discussion. I'd like to note that this time there were no differences and contradictions".

He added that there is a chance for "more dynamic actions in the region to promote a settlement".

Asked by TASS about bilateral relations, the Soviet minister said that the two sides discussed "very painstakingly issues of economic cooperation".

They agreed that in connection with the forthcoming meeting of the Six in Moscow which will discuss German unification, Washington will send a large group of specialists and prominent representatives of the American business community to Moscow.

It is planned that the group will meet the Soviet president. During this meeting, the sides will map out a programme for technical cooperation between the USSR and the United States.

Baker, Shevardnadze Conclude Talks 2 Aug

Sign Joint Communique

LD0208041990 Moscow TASS in English 0408 GMT 2 Aug 90

[By TASS special correspondents Georgiy Shmelev, Konstantin Voitsekhovich, and Vladimir Khody]

[Text] Irkutsk, Eastern Siberia August 2 TASS—A two-day working meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and United States Secretary of State James Baker ended here today by signing a joint communique.

The document expounds the content of the talks and the agreements reached. Shevardnadze and Baker exchanged opinions on foreign aspects of German reunification and agreed that there exist good prerequisites for accomplishing in the main the elaboration of the document on the final international and legal settlement of the German issue by September 12, when the meeting of the "Six" in Moscow will be held, the communique reads.

The sides noted the importance of thorough preparations for the proposed CSCE summit in Paris. The sides agreed that the holding of such a summit is connected with signing an agreement on conventional Armed Forces and armaments in Europe.

Having discussed some issues connected with the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons, the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state voiced their intention to give additional instructions to their delegations, aimed to speed up the work on the text of the treaty.

While discussing issues concerning the Vienna talks, the sides focused on the Air Force problem. They said they were sure that a solution to problems that have not yet been resolved at the Vienna talks will be found, and the agreement on the reduction of conventional Armed Forces and armaments should be signed at the all-European summit in Paris in November.

In elaboration of previous discussions, the sides managed to broaden the sphere of mutual understanding of the situation in Afghanistan and Cambodia. The sides focused on the problem of ensuring a transition period in Afghanistan to hold free democratic elections under the international aegis. The discussion was held with due regard of the latest proposals and ideas.

While discussing the Cambodian settlement, the sides positively assessed the activities of the "five" and expressed mutual readiness to invigorate their work with all parties concerned in order to create, as it was suggested, the higher national council and terminate the conflict as soon as possible on the basis of free elections by the Cambodian people. The Soviet side noted new important elements in the United States' position on Cambodia.

Shevardnadze Leaves for Moscow

LD0208042590 Moscow TASS in English 0420 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Irkutsk August 2 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze left Irkutsk for Moscow early today, after completing two days of talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Baker Travels to Mongolia

LD0208042790 Moscow TASS in English 0416 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Irkutsk August 2 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker left Irkutsk early today, after completing two days of talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Shevardnadze's Assessment of Talks Noted

Calls Talks 'Promising'

LD0208072990 Moscow TASS in English 0707 GMT 2 Aug 90

[By TASS special correspondents Konstantin Voitsekhovich, Vladimir Khody, and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Irkutsk Eastern Siberia August 2 TASS—The USSR and the United States "do not view each other as adversaries" in Asia or elsewhere in the world, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said today following two days of talks in Siberia with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

He was speaking at a joint news conference with Baker at the Retro guest house here after the final round of their negotiations this morning.

For the first time in the history of their meetings, Shevardnadze said, they discussed what he described as "common problems of Asia and the Far East"—stability, security, the ending of military confrontation, and possibilities for bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the region.

The discussion, according to Shevardnadze, was marked by new approaches to the major problems of the region.

He said they held a "thorough" discussion on Afghanistan, noting that the sides' positions have been steadily coming closer together, which will hopefully lead to early practical results.

Shevardnadze described as "optimistic and encouraging" the discussion about Cambodia. After the U.S. took a realistic position on the so-called coalition government, possibilities emerged for interaction between all progressive Cambodian forces and for a dialogue with China, the countries of Indochina and ASEAN, he said.

The exchange of views, he said, also covered the situation on the Korean peninsula, where encouraging tendencies have shown lately, Indo-Pakistan relations and other regional problems.

When discussing European issues, Baker and Shevardnadze focused on German unification, the transformation of alliances, the institutionalisation of the Helsinki process, preparations for a European summit and the Vienna talks, Shevardnadze said.

Shevardnadze said that during the discussion of talks on strategic offensive weapons, he informed the U.S. side about "the Soviet decision to stop the production of rail mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles beginning from 1991. [no closing quotation mark as received]

The deployment of these missiles has been practically completed, he added.

The sides had a major discussion about economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States. An agreement has been reached to hold a large forum with the participation of the U.S. secretary of trade and business circles.

George Bush is expected to visit the Soviet Union, Shevardnadze said. It was very important to discuss the schedule of preparations for the visit on all levels, he said.

The talks were "very fruitful, warm and friendly", Shevardnadze said.

Baker also characterised the Irkutsk meeting as "quite productive".

He welcomed the Soviet decision to stop the production of rail mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Baker said he sees no obstacles to Soviet-American cooperation in Asia becoming as productive as in Europe. There is a considerable potential for such cooperation, he said.

Commenting on regional conflicts, Baker said that the improvement in Soviet-American relations provides opportunities to settle them.

Gives Overview

PM0208103690 Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Aug 90 p 3

[Report by special correspondents I. Belov and P. Vorobyev: "Dialogue by the Lake: Working Meeting Between E.A. Shevardnadze and J. Baker Held in Irkutsk"]

[Text] Irkutsk, 1 Aug—In recent months, the geography of diplomacy has been busily learning new names. After Brest and Arkhyz, where the Soviet leaders recently held intensive talks lasting many hours with their West German partners, on 1 August Irkutsk was the scene of a working visit between the Soviet and U.S. foreign ministers.

In the course of an unconstrained conversation with Soviet journalists on board the Il-62 M aircraft somewhere over Western Siberia en route from Moscow, E.A. Shevardnadze explained why the choice fell on Irkutsk this time.

"You know why these meetings are convenient," he said. "Less time is wasted on protocol matters: official luncheons, dinners, exchanges of speeches, formal ceremonies, and so forth. I believe, for instance, that perhaps the most fruitful talks so far were those that the secretary of state and I had last September in the American 'backwoods'—in the little town of Jackson, Wyoming. It was possible really to concentrate there—no telephone calls, no telegrams. Furthermore, the American secretary of state is, as you know, currently on a tour of Asian countries. After Irkutsk he is going to Ulaanbaatar. So the site chosen for the meeting, on the banks of the Angara and Baykal, should be convenient for him. And every foreign guest wants to see Siberia with his own eyes...."

As for the agenda for the 16th Shevardnadze-Baker meeting, the Soviet foreign minister singled out the following topics: the acceleration of the strategic offensive arms talks in Geneva and the talks on conventional arms in Vienna; the new Soviet-American summit meeting, which is to be held in the near future; regional problems (Afghanistan, Cambodia, the Korean peninsula, the Near East, the Horn of Africa); the formation of pan-European security structures in the context of German unification and the talks under the "two-plus-four" formula.

What are the first impressions of people close to the Irkutsk talks? We questioned a well-informed Soviet diplomat, who asked us not to mention his name.

"Basically," our interlocutor said, "an entirely new discussion is now beginning, on bilateral relations, on global problems, and on Europe. The ideological pressure has been removed from European affairs. And everyone now has to decide what are their true interests in the emerging new Europe, and how to secure those interests. That is the 'subtext' of all the recent meetings between the leaders of Soviet and American diplomacy."

[TRUD] "Does that mean that the main attention in Irkutsk was devoted to Europe? Is that not strange, given that the meeting took place in the Asian continent?"

[Diplomat] "European development is particularly dynamic at present. In order not to lag behind, it is necessary to take any opportunity to compare and coordinate our approaches. But of course, apart from Europe,

there was a discussion of the situation in other regions. Recently, for instance, there was a shift in the U.S. position on Cambodia: The Americans have at last dissociated themselves from the forces associated with the former Pol Pot regime. There is a rapprochement in the Soviet and U.S. positions on the Afghan problem. Our countries have already demonstrated their capacity to collaborate in southern Africa, where certain positive indications have also emerged in the last few weeks.

"I think all these problems can be expected to be 'closed' in the not too distant future. Incidentally, they have cost us quite dearly in every respect, including financially. Resolving regional problems means a saving for our budget, and, incidentally, for the American budget, which also shows a large deficit. This is the 'peace dividend' that there has been much talk of recently."

[TRUD] "And what about the 'peace dividend' from the disarmament process?"

[Diplomat] It will come, without fail. Although it is also true that this process itself costs money. All the same, the overall outcome—as serious research at home and in the United States has demonstrated—will be a gain for both countries' economies. So it is possible to move at an accelerated pace toward the signing of agreements on nuclear and conventional arms by the end of this year. And to that end the remaining questions must be resolved: some purely technical, and some more complex, requiring political attention. The discussion at ministerial level will presumably make it possible to progress in this direction."

[TRUD] "What other problems merited examination at ministerial level?"

[Diplomat] "The problems of Soviet-U.S. economic collaboration. In Houston a month ago the leading Western countries discussed the question of aid to perestroyka. That is how it was formulated. Incidentally, we are not asking for any free aid, we are talking about credits, consultations, technical assistance. The participants in the Houston meeting showed differing degrees of readiness for this. It is, I think, hardly to the advantage of the United States to stand aside from promoting efforts to transform and strengthen the Soviet economy. After all, American leaders have said repeatedly that the United States has an interest in the success of perestroyka. It is time to channel this interest into concrete action. That is an important topic for discussion."

At the end of the day the leaders of the Soviet and U.S. foreign policy departments went for a trip on the Angara and Baykal. On board the diesel ship "Voskhod," they once again discussed questions of Soviet-American relations. The visit to the great lake was used for a dicussion of ecological problems. Shevardnadze and Baker expressed support for widening contacts and exchanges between the two countries in the sphere of environmental conservation, and came out in favor of coordinating the efforts of Soviet and American experts to preserve such unique natural phenomena as Lake Baykal in the USSR and the Great Lakes in the United States.

House Subpanel Votes To Cut Star Wars Budget

LD0108120290 Moscow TASS in English 1152 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko]

[Text] Washington August 1 TASS—The research and development subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee decided to cut allocations for the Star Wars programme by $2 billion in fiscal 1991.

Discussing a bill on military appropriations on Tuesday, the committee voted 17-4 to cut Bush's $4.7 billion request for Star Wars anti-missile defence research to $2.9 billion.

In addition, the committee also deemed it necessary to strike from the Administration's request $554 million that were to pay for putting the MX intercontinental ballistic missiles on railroad cars.

The same fate befell the Administration's request for $202 million to develop a mobile single-warhead Midgetman missile. The members left $600 million in research and development funds for a single type of a new generation intercontinental ballistic missiles. The committee called on the Bush Administration to come up with recommendations on this score within 90 days.

The subcommittee called for curtailing the programme to build a fleet of new Strategic B-2 Stealth bombers. Each such bomber was estimated to cost $865 million. The panel decided to set aside enough funds to finish the 15 bombers now under construction.

The subcommittee recommended preserving the programme to build the V-22 Osprey tilt-rotor aircraft, which can fly both as a helicopter and a long-haul transport for troops and equipment. U.S. Secretary of Defence Richard Cheney announced his intention to terminate the programme, but the subcommittee did not agree with his recommendation and set aside $238 million for its implementation.

The bill will now go for discussion to the House Armed Services Committee.

State Department's Human Rights Report Critiqued

LD0108174790 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 01 Aug 90

[Special to TASS by Anne Leslie Rochell]

[Text] New York August 1 TASS—The U.S. State Department's "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1989" boasts an increased objectivity, which reflects the eroding influence of the cold war, according to a critique by the New York-based lawyers Committee for Human Rights. However, several reports are tainted

by vested political interests, which prevent the U.S. from holding certain governments accountable for their actions.

U.S. political interests marred reports on several countries, including El Salvador and the Israeli-occupied territories.

By persisting in using only local press reports as a main source of information in El Salvador, the State Department failed to monitor "widespread and well-documented" restrictions, abuses and attacks against the local and international press. Also ignored is a pattern of increasing intimidation and attacks against the witnesses of victims of crimes, and against those institutions which seek to investigate and prosecute persons responsible for human rights abuses. The report on the Israeli-occupied territories, according to the Lawyers Committee, refrains from offering, as it does in other country reports, an overall assessment of the scope or frequency of human rights violations. "Although the State Department's report does say there were more Palestinian deaths in 1989 than in 1988, it does not give any details. It omits, for example, the dramatic rise in the number of Palestinian children aged 17 or under who were killed by Israeli security forces—from 51 in 1988 to 80 in 1989.

The Lawyers Committee appeared to be most satisfied with the report from China, which it said "should serve as a model for all country reports." The State Department "consistently asserts its own views and reaches its own conclusions" in describiing events such as the government crackdown in Beijing in June.

Although the State Department issues a report from every country in the world, the Lawyers Committee on Human Rights critiques only some of these reports. This year, its eleventh year of publishing such a critique, the lawyers committee examined reports from 47 countries.

"Reports on communist or formerly communist states in general are no longer unduly harsh," the critique states in the introduction, "if anything, the reports on the Soviet Union and Romania, for example, are overly optimistic." The State Department fails to mention, for example, that in the Soviet Union, despite the introduction of several laws which allow Soviet citizens to challenge abusive state practices, few lawsuits have been filed, due to the lack of an independent judicial system. "People are understandably reluctant to sue the government until the judiciary and the executive are truly separate," the lawyers committee says.

The Lawyers Committee has conducted its own fact-finding missions since 1978, in numerous countries worldwide, and workds to protect and promote fundamental human rights.

William G. O'Neill, deputy director of the Lawyers Committee and author of the critique's introduction, said in a TASS interview that he is pleased to see that the State Department had changed some of its former techniques. For example, it has begun to take seriously reports from local human rights groups in many countries.

"Before, they discounted such organizations," O'Neill said, "But they still only present the information coming from these groups. They do not offer any analysis." The State Department does not have any official response to the critique, but they do take it very seriously, according to the State Department itself, and the lawyers committee.

Nathan Kingsley, a spokesman for the State Department, said in a TASS interview that he could not elaborate on how the department received the report. He simple said, "we agree on some parts and disagree on others."

Maiden Flight To U.S. Establishes Air Link

LD0208102790 Moscow TASS in English 0822 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Leningrad August 2 TASS—The Soviet plane Il-86 took off from the Pulkovo International Aiport in Leningrad this morning to make its maiden flight to the United States.

"The demand for tickets to the United States exceeds the supply. We were unprepared to accomodate the number of passengers. The new weekly flight is expected to decrease the queues by at least 250 people a week," head of the local civil aviation directorate told TASS.

"The expanding number of routes between the two countries is envisaged by an agreement signed during the recent meeting between Soviet and American leaders," Balkan said.

He said that part of the tickets for the new flight are sold in the Baltic republics, Belorussia and Uzbekistan.

On its way to the United States the Il-86 will stop over in Shannon, Ireland and Gander, Canada.

The flight lasts for 10 hours.

Planes are additionally equipped with navigational instruments necessary to fly over the North Atlantic.

China

Yazov Greets Chinese Counterpart on Anniversary

PM0108150590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Message from Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR defense minister, to Lieutenant General Qin Jiwei, PRC defense minister—date not given]

[Text] To Lieutenant General Qin Jiwei, PRC defense minister

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

Please accept my sincere congratulations on the occasion of the 63d anniversary of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

I express my conviction that the contacts and ties that have been established in the present between the USSR and PRC Armed Forces will be further developed in the context of the general normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, for the good of the peoples of our countries and in the interests of peace and stability in Asia and the whole world.

I take this opportunity to send you and all Chinese servicemen my best wishes.

[Signed] Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Tibet's Dalai Lama on Autonomy From China

OW0208034890 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] The leader of Tibetan Buddhists, the Dalai Lama, said in New Delhi that he wishes to return to his homeland in five to 10 years time in the capacity of an ordinary Buddhist monk.

The Dalai Lama, who has been living in India since 1959, expressed this wish in a statement issued on Wednesday. He added that by then, great changes would have taken place in Tibet and democratic forces shall prevail.

The Dalai Lama also stated that he maintains unofficial contacts with China through the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi.

Three years ago, the Dalai Lama abandoned the demand that Tibet secede from China and become independent. He prosposed that Tibet be given a high level of autonomy with the authority in Beijing retaining control over foreign affairs and national defense. Beijing rejected the proposal.

Northeast Asia

Expectations of South Korean Moscow Visit Noted

SK0208100690 Seoul YONHAP in English 0928 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, Aug 2 (OANA-YONHAP)—South Korea and the Soviet Union opened official talks Thursday in Moscow on normalizing diplomatic relations and promoting economic cooperation.

Kim Chong-in, senior presidential secretary for economic affairs, heads the 20-member Korean delegation, and Yuriy Maslyukov, first deputy prime minister and chief of the State Planning Agency (Gosplan), leads the 13-member Soviet delegation.

The Koreans say they expect to discuss establishment of full diplomatic ties as well as mutual economic and trade cooperation, but a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry hinted diplomatic relations were not on the agenda.

"The opening talks are economic in nature and will be mostly devoted to looking for ways to step up mutually beneficial cooperation in the economic, scientific, and technological fields," the Soviet news agency TASS quoted him as saying.

"We hope that the South Korean delegation's visit will facilitate the expansion of economic, scientific, technological and other contacts between the two countries and strengthen the foundations of peace and goodneighborliness on the Korean peninsula and in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole."

In the opening session of the talks, the Koreans told the Soviets that promotion of practithe two countries and strengthen the foundations of peace and goodneighborliness on the Korean peninsula and in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole."

Korean delegates suggested diplomatic relations be normalized at an early date to encourage practical economic cooperation between businesses from two countries, the official said.

The Korean side proposed that accords be signed on investment protection, prevention of double taxation, trade and scientific and technological cooperation, he said.

The Soviet side explained its position on economic cooperation with Korea and suggested concrete steps to expand economic cooperation be finalized at an early date based on reciprocity, he said.

The two sides are to hold panel meetings in the afternoon, followed by a plenary session Friday afternoon.

It is likely that the Korean delegates will meet with President Mikhail Gorbachev and other high-ranking Soviet officials during their stay, the official said.

The talks, the first official negotiations between the two governments, follow a letter from Gorbachev to President No Tae-u in early July in which the Soviet leader expressed hope for official contact for promoting bilateral relations.

No and Gorbachev, in a historic summit meeting in San Francisco on June 4, agreed in principle to normalize diplomatic ties between the two nations, adversaries for more than 40 years before they moved toward a new relationship in trade and economy at the time of the Seoul Olympics.

On the Korean side, the meeting was also attended by Kim Chong-hwi, presidential assistant for national security and diplomacy, Kong No-myong, head of the Korean Consular Department in Moscow, Yi Chong-pin,

assistant foreign minister, and Kim In-ho, director of the Economic Planning Board's external economic coordination office.

ROK Group Arrives With Greetings for Gorbachev

Economic Cooperation Discussed

PM0108154590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Bringing a Message"]

[Text] The YONHAP agency reports from Seoul: A high-ranking delegation of South Korean Government representatives has left on a visit to Moscow carrying a letter to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev from South Korean President No Tae-u.

The delegation, led by Kim Chong-in, South Korean presidential secretary for economic affairs, will be holding talks with Soviet officials on the establishment of diplomatic relations, an exchange of visits by the two countries' presidents, the expansion of economic cooperation, the signing of agreements on investment guarantees and the elimination of dual taxation, and also on the establishment of direct channels of communication between Moscow and Seoul.

According to a government spokesman, President No Tae-u's letter contains an invitation for Mikhail Gorbachev to visit South Korea "if possible, in the very near future," together with an appeal for Soviet-South Korean relations to be normalized within the shortest possible time. No Tae-u's message expresses thanks to the USSR president for his active role in developing relations between South and North Korea and includes a request for further support in setting up a summit between Seoul and Pyongyang.

The 2-4 August talks will be followed by at least three further rounds of talks in Seoul and Moscow, the official government spokesman said. At the coming meeting, he said, we will be hearing the Soviet position on the normalization of ties and on economic cooperation, and explaining our own approach. In order to hold more detailed discussions we will need to meet two or three times more. If these talks are fruitful, the South Korean and Soviet foreign ministers could meet at the UN General Assembly in late September or October to sign an agreement on normalizing relations. That will be followed by efforts to prepare for a visit to Moscow by No Tae-u at the end of the year and a Gorbachev visit to Seoul at the start of next year.

On its way to Moscow the South Korean delegation made a stopover in Tokyo, where it informed the Japanese side about Seoul's general approach to the development of relations with the Soviet Union.

As the Japanese newspaper ASAHI writes today, following the South Korean government delegation's visit to the USSR Pak Chol-on, No Tae-u's "secret emissary for Northern diplomacy" and former presidential adviser for political affairs, will arrive in Moscow 4 August.

This will be a private trip. Nevertheless Pak Chol-on did hold consultations with President No Tae-u as part of his preparations for the visit. The program for the visit includes meetings with USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and a number of Soviet leaders. For this reason, ASAHI believes, Pak Chol-on's private visit is regarded in Seoul as "backup for the official delegation."

Bilateral Relations Assessed

LD0108162390 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—An official economic delegation from South Korea arrived in the Soviet Union today for talks on bilateral relations in a wide range of fields, including the economy, trade, science, technology, investments, and joint enterprise.

The delegation, led by Kim Chong-in, senior presidential secretary for economic affairs, will negotiate with Soviet officials led by Yuriy Maslyukov, chief of the state planning agency Gosplan.

As requested by the visitors, business meetings have been arranged for them at a number of Soviet ministries and agencies, factories, and scientific and cultural centres.

Asked by TASS if the talks will discuss the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Korea, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that "the opening talks are economic in nature and will be mostly devoted to looking for ways to step up mutually beneficial cooperation in the economic, scientific and technological fields".

He also voiced hope that "the South Korean delegation's visit will facilitate the expansion of economic, scientific, technological and other contacts between the two countries and strengthen the foundations of peace and good-neighbourliness in the Korean peninsula and in the Asian-Pacific region as a whole."

DPRK Statement on Korean Unity Reviewed

SK0208005490 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] At a time when bright prospects for holding North-South high-level talks are in view, the countries which have a connection with the reunification question of Korea should not hinder its resolution but should contribute to resolving it. This is the basic gist of the DPRK Foreign Ministry spokesman's 29 July statement carried in NODONG SINMUN today. The statement

said that these countries, while welcoming the preparations for North-South high-level talks in words, are, in fact, taking steps which run counter to the realization of the talks.

Prodding the South Korean authorities to seek a policy of confrontation against the DPRK, the United States has not yet renounced its large-scale "Team Spirit" military exercise but rather has staged air exercises in a bid to perfect the attack against the DPRK and has deployed F-18A's, up-to-date military airplanes, in South Korea.

Calling on the DPRK to stop state terrorist activity and threatening it with weapons, Washington has forced the Republic to sign an agreement on nuclear safety. The strengthening of [word indistinct] in the international arena for reunification of the divided countries raises, first of all, the issue of alleviating tension on the Korean peninsula and of developing dialogue there. The DPRK is making efforts to make the North-South high-level talks effective.

The statement stressed that the government of the Republic hopes that the people and governments of the peace-loving countries will affirmatively contribute to realizing Korea's reunification.

Rogachev Discusses Territory Dispute With Japan

OW0208002890 Tokyo KYODO in English 2307 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 1 KYODO—Japan and the Soviet Union remained at odds Wednesday in their decades-long dispute involving four Soviet-held islands which Japanese officials say belong to Japan, Foreign Ministry officials said. The deputy foreign ministers of the two countries, however, agreed to continue talks on the dispute and characterized the three days of talks as being "useful."

The dispute has blocked the conclusion of a bilateral peace treaty between the two countries. The Soviets have controlled the islands since the end of World War II.

Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, in the Houston summit of seven major economic powers last month, opposed a Franco-German proposal for extending concerted economic assistance to Moscow, saying that the territorial dispute is still unresolved between Japan and the Soviet Union.

During the talks, Japan's Deputy Foreign Minister Hisashi Owada called for the return of the islands, located just east of the northernmost main island of Hokkaido.

In response, chief Soviet delegate Igor Rogachev said he regrets Japan will not accept "post-war realities," a remark that referred to the Soviet Union's control of the islands of Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and the Habomais after the war, officials said. The Soviet delegation contended that Japan is bound under the Yalta agreement that sets the size of Japan's post-war territory. The Yalta agreement, concluded by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union in 1945, allowed for the Soviet takeover of the southern half of Sakhalin and Kuril Islands, which had been Japanese territory.

The Japanese said the Yalta agreement does not allow for the turnover of territory unless it is confirmed by a peace treaty. Japan has abandoned its claim on the Kurils and Sakhalin under the 1951 San Francisco peace treaty. The four islands are not included in the Kurils but are part of Hokkaido, they said.

Owada and Rogachev, however, agreed to continue efforts toward concluding a peace treaty, settling post-war matters still unresolved, and strengthening the basis for friendship, Japanese officials said.

The two men, who spent the first two days of the talks to discuss international and bilateral affairs, spent the third day talking about the islands issue at the fifth working group session on concluding a peace treaty. The working group was established in 1988 and was aimed chiefly at discussing the territorial dispute.

Owada is scheduled to meet Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on Thursday before flying back to Tokyo.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Vietnamese Blamed for Stricter Airport Security

PM0108103990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by S. Mostovshchikov: "Following an Extraordinary Incident at Sheremetyevo-2"]

[Text] Strong measures have been taken at Moscow's Sheremetyevo-2 International Airport. People are now admitted to the airport building only on presentation of a flight ticket. Aeroflot recommends that the procedures of meeting and seeing off relatives and friends be conducted off the premises.

The innovation has been introduced by Aeroflot's CAIAC [Central Administration of International Aerial Communications], internal affairs organs, and the Sheremetyevo customs, which discussed at a joint conference on 24 July the extraordinary incidents that have occurred at the airport over the past month. Commenting on the decision, CAIAC General Director Vladimir Potemkin said that the tough measures are directed only against a certain category of citizens who paralyze the normal working of Sheremetyevo-2.

He means, in particular, people of Vietnamese nationality who come to see others off. Thanks to them, the situation in the airport becomes unbearable at the time of registering for Moscow-Hanoi flights. Long before an aircraft departs, several times more people than it can

hold gather there. They try to send their baggage off to Vietnam with holders of airline tickets, engaging in a real battle in the customs house, smashing windows, and breaking barriers. And two customs officials suffered recently—their heads were smashed with metal objects. At first a special-purpose militia detachment was summoned to instill order. It has now been decided not to let into the airport at all people seeing others off.

The strong measures also extend to the Soviet emigres who practically live at Sheremetyevo in the hope of having their tickets transferred to an earlier date. In addition, there is no wish to admit suspicious persons to the airport. For example, the private drivers who illegally engage in the carriage trade here, charging high prices for a run into Moscow.

The special-purpose militia detachment has been entrusted with ensuring the admittance regime and, incidentally, will now be constantly on duty at Sheremetyevo-2 until the "Vietnam flights" have been transferred to Sheremetyevo-1. The militiamen are being helped by Aeroflot staffers who speak foreign languages and understand the contents of tickets filled out in English.

Our photocorrespondent, who was preparing a reportage on the regime innovation, was freely admitted to the airport. Consequently, he was not taken as a "suspicious" person. It is hard to say whether or not he was lucky, since the very situation is abnormal when Moscow has no possibility of constructing a spacious international airport, ensuring the safety of customs officials, and selling sufficient tickets to those who want to fly out of the USSR.

Commentary Views 'Deadlock' on Cambodian Issue

BK0208111590 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Commentary by Aleksey Nikolayev—read by announcer]

[Text] July has just gone and with it the hope that finally the war in Cambodia would really end. What is the cause of the deadlock? Our commentator Aleksey Nikolayev writes:

It is regrettable that the agreement signed in Tokyo between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Sihanouk has not yet produced results. I would like to recall that the agreement touches on the necessity for a general cease-fire in Cambodia following the convening of a Supreme National Council. This organ, as stated in the statement issued in early June in Tokyo, is composed of 12 members: six from the current Phnom Penh government and six from the opposing Cambodian alliance. The first session of the the council should be convened no later than the end of July. At the same time, a peace agreement will go into effect.

From the Phnom Penh side, a list of its representatives has already been issued. From the opposing Cambodian alliance, no agreement has yet been reached on who are going to be members of the Supreme National Council. This is primarily due to the Khmer Rouge's disruptive behavior. The hard-headed group refused to sign the Tokyo statement and continues to demand a situation in which it has the upper hand. As expected, the Pol Pot group has at the same time intensified attacks in Cambodia. It remains indifferent to appeals by its allies in the coalition. In the end, as people have witnessed it, the allies have again been compelled to go along with the Khmer Rouge's will.

However, a leader of the alliance, Son Sann, appealed for the four parties to meet in Paris to discuss the current situation. In my view, this so-called initiative was put forward to conform with the circumstance because the appeal for talks was immediately issued after Washington had stated its decision to stop supporting the opposing Cambodian alliance in the United Nations and to set up direct contacts with Hanoi on a solution to the Cambodian problem.

Realizing this situation, the opposing alliance hit on the idea of calling an urgent meeting of leaders of the three opposition groups and afterward inviting Comrade Hun Sen to attend this meeting as well. This is ridiculous. Disappointed with the U.S. decision, Son Sann considered this decision a step taken under the influence of Vietnam's propaganda. However, the hastily proposed meeting in Paris did not materialize. The Khmer Rouge were indifferent to the appeal for talks. Even Comrade Hun Sen thought it is no use going to France. In his message to Son Sann, Comrade Hun Sen explained his position as follows: I do not see any reason for traveling thousands of miles just to meet and talk about what has already been solved, namely the establishment of the Supreme National Council and the cease-fire.

It is true that talks held not seriously certainly will not advance the cause of a Cambodian solution. It requires action in practice to implement the agreement already signed in Tokyo to achieve genuine results. Otherwise, the initiative of inter-Cambodian talks would be destroyed while other good initiatives would vanish just like water seeping through sand.

In sum, what is to be done is to wait for the answer from the opposing side, and first of all from the Khmer Rouge. Will the group continue to impose an ultimatum by relying on force? Or will it express its readiness to compromise? Observers think that this would be clearer after the meeting of the representatives from the three opposing groups in Beijing around 20 August.

Near East & South Asia

Media Report on Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

Iraq Warns Against Intervention

LD0208063990 Moscow TASS in English 0626 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] New York August 2 TASS—About 350 Iraqi tanks entered the Kuwaiti capital today, several hours after Iraq invaded the little Arab country, THE ASSOCIATED PRESS [AP] news agency reports from Kuwait.

The invasion followed the collapse of talks between the two countries in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia over Iraqi territorial claims to Kuwait.

Iraq demanded the writing off of its debts and $2.4 billion in compensation for oil Kuwait extracted at disputed oil fields.

Outnumbered Kuwaiti troops tried in vain to repel the invasion. Streets in the capital are deserted. Residents are staying home. The precise number of victims is unknown.

The council of Iraq's Revolutionary Command announced that the Kuwaiti government has been toppled, saying that the incursion was carried out at the request of the new revolutionary government in Kuwait, AP says.

"We will withdraw as soon as things settle and when the temporary free government asks us to do so... this will not take more than few days or few weeks," the Revolution Command Council statement said.

Iraq warned foreign states against intervening in the events, saying that any foreign forces will be attacked by Iraqi troops.

Warning Aimed at U.S.

LD0208082390 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Iraq, which invaded Kuwait early this morning, has announced it was mobilizing reserves to bolster an army already one million strong. In a warning clearly aimed at the United States, whose strike aircraft carrier Independence is steaming towards the Gulf, Iraq has threatened to turn Kuwait into a graveyard if any outside power intervened in the fighting. [passage omitted]

End to Arms Shipments Sought

AU0208073190 Paris AFP in English 0723 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] MOSCOW, Aug 2 (AFP) The Soviet Union Thursday was reviewing the situation in the Gulf where Iraqi Armed Forces invaded Kuwait, an official at the Foreign Ministry said here.

"The question is under consideration," the official said.

Washington has called on Iraq to withdraw its troops and on the Soviet Union to stop all weapon deliveries to Baghdad.

Moscow is Iraq's main armaments supplier.

TASS news agency was reporting news of the invasion in dispatches from Cairo, without any comment.

Shevardnadze Urges Resolution

LD0208125790 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze believes every measure should be taken to extinguish the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait. He talked with correspondents at the Moscow airport today upon his arrival from Irkutsk, where he had a working meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

"There is no denying we are very much concerned about the conflict," Shevardnadze said. He said he would consult his advisers who are following the developments and that the Soviet Union will take all the necessary measures that are possible.

The Soviet Union, traditionally, has good, friendly relations both with Iraq and with Kuwait. "I see no reason that would make it impossible to end this conflict, and I hope that common sense will prevail," Shevardnadze said.

Gulf Invasion Deplored

LD0208115190 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Commentary by Boris Belitskiy—recorded]

[Text] The latest developments in the Persian Gulf are strongly deplored by people here in Moscow. That a dispute primarily over oil prices, no matter how important they are to some states, should escalate into a military conflict and cause one Arab state to attack another is seen as an entirely unacceptable development by the Soviet public.

President Mikhail Gorbachev has in the past repeatedly censured intervention by one state in the affairs of another, not hesitating to condemn the Soviet Union's own use of force against other states in the past.

The Persian Gulf is relatively close to the southern borders of the Soviet Union, which in view of this has a particular interest in stability in that region.

We in Moscow trust that the dispute between Iraq and Kuwait will quickly be resolved by peaceful means and we are working in the United Nations Security Council to achieve a speedy end to the hostilities between the two Arab states and the withdrawal of the Iraqi forces.

Islamic Radicalism 'Dangerous' to Mideast Peace

PM0108112190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jul 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by A. Smirnov under the rubric "Observer's Commentary": "Radicals of Islam"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The stunningly rapid collapse of dogmatic socialism in East Europe and the apocalyptic crisis in our administrative-command system of managing society and the economy have caused great confusion to the public in Arab countries. This has hit all left-wing forces in the region. Simultaneously the end of the "cold war" and the Soviet Union's renunciation of the spirit of confrontation and transition to a partnership with the United States have engendered in Arabs the generally incorrect impression that they are left without a reliable ally. Added to this is the mass emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, increasing the potential for a Zionist state which does not wish to come to a just peace with the Arabs, which oppresses Palestinians on their own territory, and which is building up its nuclear missile attack force.

All this takes place against a background of social and economic disorders in a number of Arab countries, despite their considerable economic potential. Seventy percent of Algeria's currency income goes on clearing off its gigantic foreign debt. In Morocco unemployment, chiefly among young people, affects one-fifth of the total able-bodied population. In Jordan a real economic crisis has developed, caused by the consequences of the cessation of the Iran-Iraq War and by the Palestinian uprising in the occupied Arab territories.

Everywhere in the Arab world the gap between the needs of the rapidly growing population and the resources available is widening. There is a severe lack of irrigated land and consequently of locally produced food products.

In their call to the powers that be, the fundamentalists demand that all aspects of society's social and economic life be brought into line with the tenets of Islam a theocratic form of rule set up to replace "regimes wallowing in sin and corruption." But we should not absolutize Islamic fundamentalism as having only a reactionary essence. After all, its roots go right back to the Muslim and Arab peoples' struggle against foreign domination and supremacy. It is no accident that the most vividly expressed anti-Western form of this trend has its most powerful popular base in Egypt and Algeria, which have a long history of being subjected to merciless colonial robbery.

But in the final analysis Islamic extremism still does not have a historical perspective in the Arab East. It is not capable of offering anything attractive to despairing, disillusioned people apart from an idealized past in the pretty heavily embellished "golden age" of Islam. Fundamentalism is dangerous to fellow-citizens, because in place of some "corrupt rulers" it seeks to bring new ones to power who will rule mercilessly and wage war on all who seek dialogue or show dissent.

Islamic fundamentalism—along with Israeli diehards—is dangerous to the cause of a just peace because it torpedoes peaceful dialogue for a settlement in the Near East. Yasir 'Arafat was recently forced to declare this publicly, finding himself under increasing pressure from Islamic radicals of the "Hamas" [Islamic Resistance Movement] organization. What level will the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the Arab world reach? It is hard to say. Its decline is imminent, but has not yet started.

Islamic World Termed 'Mosaic,' Not 'One Entity'

NC0108144590 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Commentary by Yuriy Andreyev]

[Text] Esteemed listeners: The consultative session of foreign ministers of the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] member countries opened in Cairo today. Delegations from all the ICO's 45 members are participating in the session.

To a large extent, the portrait of the last part of our century has been colored by the traditional Islamic tricolor of green, red and black. The green represents the green seeds of hope, the red stands for flowers, and the black symbolizes the fertility of the land after it is ploughed. However, at the same time, the green could also stand for weeds, the red represent the blood of martyrs, and the black symbolize the ashes of destroyed cities.

Islam and (?oil), Islam and the crisis in the Middle East, Islam and the Palestinian issue, Islam and the Iran-Iraq war—over centuries, this religion has become a way of life for millions of people in Asian and African countries. The ICO was established under the banner of Islam. Speaking about the current session, ICO Secretary General Hamid al-Ghabid has said that the formulation of a comprehensive Islamic strategy will be its main goal in view of the momentous developments currently taking place in the world.

According to the ICO director general, strengthening solidarity among Islamic countries will provide the best response to the general trend toward unification in other parts of the world. However, the facts reflect a reality which is quite different from the great thesis of Islamic solidarity, about which extensive propaganda is carried out. In the sphere of practical politics, the Islamic world is faced with internal strife. Instead of unity, it projects a discordant image of conflicts based on clashes of interests.

The present ICO consultative session will once again seek ways and means to extricate the Islamic world from the numerous differences in which it is embroiled. The outlook for a solution in the Middle East, the situation in

Lebanon, the differences between Iran and Iraq, and the Afghanistan issue are the most important issues today. These represent, however, only a fraction of the violent conflicts which have sown disunity in the Islamic world.

The differences between Iraq and Kuwait, between Tehran and Saudi Arabia, between Jordan and Egypt, and between modern Muslims and pro-Khomeyni fundamentalists are not on the agenda of the present ICO session. Thus, one should not be misled by remarks and statements into thinking that the word Islam represents a monolithic entity on the international scene.

The Islamic world is better seen as a mosaic. In any case, it appears that even among the most prominent Islamic personalities, very few are endowed with the qualifications for placing the tile of the mosiac in a symmetrical pattern. The fact that only some 30 foreign ministers are participating in the present ICO session is not a mere coincidence. The foreign ministers of Iran, Kuwait, Indonesia, Iraq, and many other countries have not gone to Cairo, and their countries are instead represented by high-level foreign ministry officials.

As correspondents were informed, the reason for the nonparticipation of these foreign ministers from the conference is their preoccupation with other international issues. However, everyone is aware that such conspicuous and eloquent absences once again indicate the real ability of the ICO to resolve disputed issues in the Islamic world. No doubt all kinds of talks are useful, but most international observers are extremely skeptical that the present session in Cairo will be able to acheive any specific results.

Party 'Schism' Reported Among Afghan Rebels

LD0208101590 Moscow TASS in English 0748 GMT 2 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladislav Legantsov]

[Text] Islamabad August 2 TASS—Nine of the 14 members of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan Executive Council—a major rebel group led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar—resigned, the Muslim newspaper reported on Wednesday.

Those who left include Hekmaytar's deputy Obaydullah and chiefs of the intelligence, financial, administrative and other departments of the executive Council.

The schism was prompted by Hekmatyar's dictatorial methods and his unwillingness to listen to the opinion of the Executive Committee.

East Europe

Polish Border Closed Because of 'Smuggling'

LD0108210690 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—Soviet border and customs services stopped the passage of the Soviet western border by Soviet citizens today at 15:00 in compliance with a decision by the USSR Council of Ministers, Soviet Central Television reported today, referring to a dispatch by its correspondent from Brest, a Belorussian city on the border with Poland.

However, according to television, "thousands of people who do not suspect what is in store for them on the border, continue arriving in Brest by rail and road. They remain in Brest without shelter and food. The situation at crossings has sharply deteriorated."

The decision by the Soviet Government adopted as a temporary measure on July 20 suspended the operation of the simplified rules of the Soviet border's crossing enacted in September 1988.

The present measure was caused by the abnormal situation on the Soveit western border where smuggling and profiteering have assumed appalling proportions.

Using a considerable difference in prices for consumer goods in the USSR and neighboring countries, Soviet and foreign citizens literally devastated the market in Soviet western areas.

The situation threatened to get out of control. The above decision will operate until border and customs services receive facilities which will ensure normal relations between citizens of the USSR and neighbouring countries.

Authorities To Suspend Hungary Border Traffic

LD0108171190 Budapest MTI in English 1530 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 1 (MTI)—As of August 1, the Soviet border guard authorities will temporarily suspend border-zone traffic, the Hungarian border guard and customs and excise office told MTI's correspondent on Wednesday. The relaxations now suspended were effective from March 1, 1989. The measure also affects Hungarian citizens living in Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County.

In the wake of earlier liberalizations, 8 million people, mostly Soviet citizens, crossed the Hungarian-Soviet border in one and a half years. As a consequence of the unilateral move introduced by the Soviet side, traffic at the four road crossings set up for the purpose of border-zone traffic at Lonya, Barabas, Beregsurany and Tiszabecs came to a standstill. At Zahony, only border-zone traffic has stopped, while normal traffic is going smoothly.

Shevardnadze Sends Cable to Albanian Counterpart

LD0108134190 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has sent a message to his Albanian counterpart, Reiz Malile, in connection with the agreement reached

between the two countries on reestablishing diplomatic relations, severed in 1961. A new period is opening in fruitful cooperation between the USSR and Albania, he said in his message. The Soviet foreign minister said he is confident that mutual understanding between the two countries will be conducive to promoting positive processes in Europe. This message was handed in [as heard] Tirana on Monday by Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, the head of the Soviet delegation. [passage omitted]

'Constructive Attitudes' Restore Albanian Ties

LD0108162590 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Gennady Petrov:

After almost three decades of alienation and at times animosity, the Soviet Union and Albania have restored diplomatic relations. This important step was possible due to major political changes in the world and particularly in Europe over recent years, and due to constructive attitudes of Moscow and Tirana leaderships, who decided to resume a dialogue disrupted because of ideological strife in 1961.

The two countries will have to work hard to clear the road to mutually-advantageous cooperation on the principles of equality, mutual respect and sovereignty.

It is heartening that ties in various areas will not be developing from scratch: There are long-standing traditions of friendship between the Soviet and Albanian peoples. Enterprises built with Soviet assistance in the fifties continue to operate in Albania, although their equipment needs to be overhauled.

Some 45 percent of the total amount of Albanian trade is with CMEA-MEMBER countries and about a quarter is with countries of the European Community.

Foreign firms are interested in purchasing Albanian chrome ore. Albania rates second in the world after South Africa in the export of chrome ore. They are also interested in purchasing organic farm products, for which there is a high demand among well-to-do Western consumers.

Foreign tourism promises to become an important source of hard currency.

The economies of Albania and the Soviet Union differ greatly in the scope and levels of development. Therefore there will be certain difficulties in establishing cooperation. Soviet and Albanian diplomats, trade officials and experts will, apparently, have to look for new and more effective forms of cooperation. Given the good will of both sides, these difficulties can be surmounted.

Current Albanian leaders state a readiness to expand trade with all interested parties. Albania's striving to end its voluntary isolation from the international arena is confirmed by its decision to participate in the Helsinki process as an observer. Involving the missing partner in the European intergation process will undoubtedly enrich it with new features.

CSFR Minister Arrives for Economic Talks

LD0108125490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Vladimir Dlouhy, minister [with portfolio] of the federal government, arrived in Moscow today. In the course of two days he will hold talks with Yuriy Masluykov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee. He will also meet with Vladimir Nikitin, first chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet part of the Czechoslovak-Soviet intergovernmental committee for economic, and scientific-technical cooperation. Various questions of economic co-operation between the two countries this year and in future years will be discussed during the talks.

East Europe's Role in USSR Security Examined

PM0208110190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by candidate of historical sciences M. Antyasov: "Eastern Europe: Times of Change"]

[Text] Concern over the events in Eastern Europe is noticeable among the range of opinions being expressed on foreign policy problems.

Certainly a lot is interwoven here. There is alarm lest these events have a negative impact on the security of our country. There is the habit of perceiving the guarantee of this security as reposing in the chain of allied countries shielding us from the West and in the stationing of large military contingents of ours in those countries. There is also perhaps the imperial nostalgia for the times when the countries of Eastern Europe were regarded not as entities in their own right but as "satellites" of our colossus. Indeed, surely it is these emotions that permeate the judgments about the fact that our "buffer zone" in Eastern Europe is collapsing, and about the fact that our troops are pulling out from there "without a fight."

At the congress M.S. Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders provided a principled, generalized assessment of statements of that kind which are essentially part and parcel of the attempts to call into question the USSR's new political thinking and its foreign policy. It is possible to say, with adequate grounds for doing so, that the authors of statements of that kind, whether they want this or not, are also providing extra arguments for our adversaries in the West who demand that NATO "keep its powder dry" while in the Eastern European countries themselves the authors of these statements are providing an opportunity for sowing doubts regarding our approach to those countries as sovereign, autonomous states enjoying

equal rights, and for suspicions concerning concealed schemes for maintaining "Moscow's diktat."

Taking account of the comnplexity and ambivalence of the whole range of sentiments being fostered more by emotion than by logic, sentiments generated by the correlation of the processes taking place in Eastern Europe and by the guaranteeing of our country's security, it is probably meaningful to try to take an unprejudiced and rational look at this problem.

For whole decades the concept of the maximal ideological proximity of our neighbors in Eastern Europe measured by our own yardsticks and the concept of what was "socialist" and what was not, were at the same time the best guarantee of our security and constituted a component of common military-strategic parity; this idea was axiomatic—brooking no discussion or doubt.

But was it all so simple? Let us start with the fact that the orgininal commonality of ideologies—as experience has shown—does not automatically guarantee friendly relations. For instance, our contacts with socialist Albania have long been severed and at the same time the multifaceted links with neighboring Finland which is remote from us in terms of social structure, have become, it might be said, an ideal of genuinely friendly relations.

And what about the history of mutual relations with China when matters reached the point of a "small war" and when thousands of kilometers of the Soviet-Chinese border were, until very recently, a border of tense confrontation? Or could we really have considered the Ceausescu regime a reliable ally of ours given all his clamorous pseudorevolutionary declarations and given, at the same time, all those practical attempts made by him, in satisfying his inexhaustible ambitions, in order to trip us and the other countries of Eastern Europe up?

Incidentally, if one takes a broader view, the history of ideologies shows that when they are absolutized, incipient contradictions in the understanding of any particular propositions have at times rapidly led to overt enmity and the "heretic" is almost regarded as being more dangerous that someone who was an adherent of a different credo from the outset.

All this, naturally, in no way means that ideological commonality is not one of the important factors for the development of relations. What we are saying is merely that it cannot be considered once and for all as an automatic guarantee of these relations. The specific actions of states—their economic and political line determined by many factors—are of decisive significance.

Now let us approach the problem from another angle. The processes of transformations in the countries of Eastern Europe have clearly shown the profound inner weakness of the power structures which existed there. Sorting out the reasons for this is a whole topic in itself. But the very rapidity of the collapse of power structures which had seemed stable even yesterday shows on what a flimsy base they were resting—despite the outer appearance of solidarity. And so, once this obvious fact has been revealed, we can certainly assess in a different light the existence—which existence had seemed crucial from the viewpoint of our country's security—to the west of our borders, of countries led by those governments.. After all, any treaties, any declarations and assurances—for all their subjective sincerity—did not erase the fact, which was coming out into the open, of the profound inner instability of those governments. The "safety belt" was essentially an illusion; in acute situations it could, like any instability, prove to be a belt of potential danger.

And this is not simply a hypothetical reflection. Strictly speaking this very instability did not show up only now. The GDR in 1953, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and finally Poland in 1980—all those crises, each in their own way, signalled the fragility of the "safety belt." With the exception of Poland they were resolved by using Soviet tanks as an argument. And each time, with the interim outward "stabilization" a kind of time-bomb was planted which sooner or later was to serve as a kind of detonator in a new and deeper political explosion. And in the final analysis that is what occurred.

But that is not everything. Each such "strong-arm" solution carried the risk of a broad international conflict. For example, only the split in NATO over the Suez adventure prevented that bloc from adopting a stance of active opposition to our actions in Hungary, opposition dictated by the "doctrine of rolling back socialism" which had been adopted at that time in the United States.

And on the whole it is certainly worthwhile assessing how this "safety belt" was regarded from the other side of the "Iron Curtain." It was sincerely or deliberately perceived as a source of heightened danger for Western Europe. For decades the image of the "mailed fist" of the Warsaw Pact in the center of Europe more than anything else cemented NATO and "helped" to stimulate the bloc's military efforts. And in accordance with the "action-reaction" principle, the military antagonism grew with every successive spiral and reached its apogee, perhaps, at the beginning of the eighties. The absolutization of security which was conceived of exclusively in terms of military parameters to an ever-increasing degree created a situation of real danger both for us and also for Europe and for the world as a whole. Who knows what this would have led to if abrupt changes has not occurred both in the domestic and in the foreign policy of our country.

From the wave which washed away the old structures new models of social development are arising in Eastern Europe. For the time being they are all still in a state of flux and it is difficult to place them in their particular "pigeonholes." However, one thing is clear: the obvious changes which have already begun in our relations with

those countries. Not ideological factors but the coupling of real interestes is what is moving into the foreground of these relations.

How do these changes tie in with the problem of ensuring security?

Perhaps the most important thing here is that the processes in Eastern Europe are taking place in the context of profound changes in the whole complex of relations in Europe and in the world as a whole. And consequently the reference points of security are changing. They are not based on the axioms of the postwar period, of the "cold war," but presuppose that the realities of present-day Europe can be seen in perspective, the realities of a Europe that is embarking on the 21st century.

This also includes the rapid progress at the Vienna talks toward a mutual reduction of forces and arms of both blocs in Europe on an unprecedented scale and the approach to the kind of situation in which neither of the sides will be able to seriously threaten the other side. The incipient process of creating all-European structures of security is also included. And finally, it includes the actual reduction of the military factors of security and the sharp intensification of the gamut of economic, social, political, and now also ecological parameters of security.

Remembering all this, we are entitled, evidently, to say that the political changes in the countries of Eastern Europe in themselves, a priori, so to speak, by no means signify a weakening of, or damage to, our security. Everything depends here on the mutual art of finding the common denominators of our interests. Of course, the system of coordinates which determine these interests is changing and "unanimity in thinking"—at times merely superficial—is disappearing. It is far more complex to build these relations on the basis of a balance of interests. But when such a balance is found it will make these relations firmer and more substantial. And important coinciding features objectively exist in these relations.

Above all the very requirements of economic progress and of the reform of political structures make a situation of stability and tranquillity on external borders especially important for each of the countries. Furthermore, while there may be differences in nuances in approaches there is a common urge for a peaceful, deconfrontational, cooperating, united Europe. In the light of this there is an understanding of the need for a new conception of the Warsaw Pact which proceeds from the priority development of nonmilitary fields of the Pact's activity, from the participation in it of parliamentary structures, and from its transformation into an organization which is above all of a political nature and which is nonconfrontational vis-a-vis NATO but which, on the contrary, cooperates with it, and in the long term which will take the path of the "de-bloc-ization" of Europe.

All this also manifested itself too at the recent conference of the Warsaw Pacts's supreme organ—its Political Consultative Committee. It also generated a reaction in response—the decisions of the London meeting of the leaders of the NATO countries which, to a large degree, revise the strategy of this bloc and which propose the start of a new stage of interbloc relations.

Of course, it would be simplistic to see only the coincidence of interests. Each of the countries has its own specific interests which at times may compete with the interests of others. There are also political cross currents. There are nationalist sentiments which are showing up. But the approach to these, sometimes acute, problems is possible only on one basis, a political basis, in line with the strict observance of the principles of equal rights, sovereignty of states, and the recognition that each has a right to select its own path, well-weighed assessments, the resolute rejection of any kind of relapses into the "Brezhnev doctrine" through an unswerving desire for smooth friendly relations.

And in this connection there is the difficult question of the significance of the presence of soviet troops in Eastern Europe. Of course this presence has a different basis and the consequences are different. Germany is one thing; where such a presence—and this applies not just to our troops but also to the American, British, and French troops—was determined not just by the logic of military alliances but also by the logic of Potsdam. And naturally the question here of the stay, the reduction, or the pullout of such troops is being decided in the course of negotations taking the situation in Germany and Europe as a whole into account in its entirety, on a reciprocal basis.

But in Hungary, after all, which does not border on any NATO country, and in Czechoslovakia too our troops showed up decades after the end of world war II and after the creation of NATO and our opponents took advantage of the stay of our troops there as something linked precisely with the domestic processes in those countries. And how should one compare the pluses and minuses and count up the costs which the presence of our troops in those countries have entailed, regardless of our good intentions, and which is being rounded off in accordance with the understandings reached.

On the other hand, among the other factors which played a part in the victory of the left-wing forces at the recent elections in Bulgaria, was not a part also played by that truly glorious lot which befell our army in that country—to come 45 years ago to help in the routing of fascism and after the fulfillment of that duty to pull out of the country, remaining in popular memory solely in the most noble capacity of liberator-army?

Our true "safety belt" passes above all through our own country. And it is measured not so much by the number of its divisions as by its economic, social, national, and political situation and by the degree to which it succeeds in achieving the consolidation and subsequently the improvement of this situation.

This "belt" passes through the transformation of the existing military blocs and the incipient establishment of

fundamentally new relations between them—not of confrontation, but of cooperation—through the movement toward a peaceful, safe, united Europe.

Finally, it passes through the development of relations of partnership, good-neighborly, freiendly relations between the Soviet Union and the states of Eastern Europe surrounding it, relations of mutual undertanding and trust to which any remnants of diktat on the one side, or of the "cordon sanitaire" on the other side, are alien.

West Europe

Anniversary of Treaty With West Germany Marked

LD0108162490 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Lev Aksenov:

"The Moscow treaty between West Germany and the Soviet Union, signed 20 years ago, manifested the beginning of the international detente. It was based or the rejection of the use of force, which implied that borders can be changed only by mutual agreement," member of the Presidium of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany Egon Bahr told TASS. At the same time, borders should not separate people, he said.

"The treaty brought in confidence and trust between the partners," Bahr said. "These factors will be necessary in future as well," he said.

The ideas assumed as a basis for the Moscow treaty should retain their effectiveness in future, as they guarantee secure peace in Europe. "Europe can exist and resolve all its problems only if it rejects the use of force and the principle should acquire an international legal status. Such intentions were proclaimed in the form of a solemn declaration during the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, but it should be a treaty that obliges the sides," Bahr said.

"Twenty years ago, I could not imagine that the development of the situation in Europe will be so rapid, because I could not imagine that Mikhail Gorbachev will appear," he said.

Bahr, an author of the West German "new Eastern policy", has arrived in the Soviet Union in connection with the 20th anniversary of signing the Moscow treaty. On Wednesday, he addressed researchers of the Institute of Europe of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Soviet Pontic Greeks Emigration Examined

LD0108170790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1430 GMT on 1 August in its "Vremya" newscast carries a 2.5-minute report by correspondent A. Melkonyan.

Melkonyan's report is introduced by the "Vremya" announcer, who notes that last year approximately 235,000 people left the USSR, 6,700 of which were Soviet Pontic Greeks who emigrated to Greece. The announcer says that an estimated 15,000 Pontic Greek are expected to emigrate in 1990.

Melkonyan reports that for more than a month now the Greek emigres' baggage has being held up at Sochi customs. A.A. Shevyakov, acting head of Sochi customs, identified by screen caption, states that these Soviet Greeks are making justified claims that customs officials are holding up their departures and their exit visa period is running out. Shevyakov says it is time the people in charge paid serious attention to this because these Greeks have sold their houses are are living from hand to mouth. The length of their wait, says Shevyakov, will depend on the rail and sea transport to deliver this baggage to Greece, but baggage which has already been accepted and registered is held at Sochi station for two to three months, and its owners are waiting for it in Greece.

Melkonyan reports: "The Sochi Procuracy is currently looking into the reason why railcars carrying the baggage of those who are going abroad are standing idle."

The announcer concludes that these Pontic Greeks are causing problems for a small country like Greece, but Pontic Greeks will become citizens of Greece with full rights. The video shows scenes at the Sochi customs, baggage searches, and interview with Shevyakov.

Latin America & Caribbean

USSR 'Shares Blame' for Cuban Situation

PM0108164890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 90 Second Edition p 4

[Commentary by A. Sharyy under the rubric "Polemical Notes": "'Who Is Marching Out of Step?' Havana: Origins and Motives Behind the Special Course"]

[Text] The Cubans are not rich. In general they are poorer than we are. Although they do not regard themselves as particularly poor: They choose different starting points. Cuba seeks "comparison" not with Eastern Europe, still less Western, but with itself before the revolution and with Latin America—a continent whose very rich natural and human resources do not yet enable it to feed its hundreds of millions of inhabitants to satiety.

The supporters of "Spartan socialism," as the social model that has developed in Cuba is sometimes called, have one argument that is employed more and more as relations with certain former East European allies slide toward the brink of open confrontation. The argument is as follows: Socialism was not imported to Cuba on the tanks of the "victorious Red Army divisions," as supposedly happened in Eastern Europe. "We are a country that made its own revolution, no one did it for us," Fidel Castro stated in one interview.

The thesis of the Cuban revolution's originality is not called into question even by its fiercest opponents. Furthermore Cuba did not immediately become our political ally—Fidel did not publicly declare the socialist orientation of the revolution he headed until 16 April 1961, during the invasion by counterrevolutionary forces at Playa Giron. There is no reason to doubt that this path was the result of a conscious choice by the Cubans, and not merely a tribute to the current political situation: Open opposition to the United States itself apparently pushed the young republic toward rapprochement with the Soviet Union. "The formation of a socialist system in Cuba was more a form of disobedience to the United States," THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote not long ago. It is indisputable that this fact played some part in further determining the historic route of the Island of Freedom. In order to survive, the revolution needed a powerful ally whose policy would run counter to U.S. policy.

However, friendship between the "small" and the "large" has its own peculiarities. The dramatic events of the Caribbean crisis showed the whole world that when two nuclear powers, worried about their own interests, decide to have a showdown, their less influential allies catch it too. Cuba almost became the epicenter of a nuclear conflict, and when Moscow was deciding the question of whether it was expedient to retain Soviet medium-range missiles on the island, Fidel's opinion was not sought, which the proud Cubans received with a very understandable feeling of injury.

And so we were on friendly terms for nearly 30 years—we helped as and how we could, not always giving due thought to "how much" and "what for," and receiving in exchange, apart from material assets—almost always—unconditional support for our foreign policy actions. It was not only with Cuba that our economic relations were structured in close connection with political relations. In this context it is perhaps worth recalling that 400,000 Cubans fought in Angola and Ethiopia, defending not only their own "strategic" interests there. Close political and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union did not, it is true, prevent the Cubans from having their own opinion, different from ours, on a number of issues: For instance, while describing the Czechoslovak events of 1968 as an attempt to restore capitalism, Fidel nonetheless assessed the actions of the Warsaw Pact countries as interference in a sovereign state's internal affairs.

But then new times arrived. For the first time in the last half-century the Soviet Union changed its domestic and foreign policy course. Radical changes took place in the East European countries. But Cuba is stubbornly continuing to advance along the path chosen earlier. The Cuban leadership's basic line in recent years (at first this became known, in some places, as "Cuban perestroyka")—the process of rectifying the mistakes made and eliminating negative trends—constitutes an attempt to reform the same old centralized system of social production.

While both we and the East European countries have already put an end to the one-party system and given the recent dissidents their way, and are now preparing to advance toward the market system, across the ocean they are following the principle "one ideology—one party—one people—one power." And if some people, in our view, lag behind, force the pace, or simply march "out of step," you will agree that this does not lead to pleasing emotions. And people have now set about the Cuban leader, who does not want to waive his principles, almost as zealously as they formerly used to expose revisionism and alien morality. And Fidel, who has remained continuously at the helm of party and state power for more than three decades now, provides his opponents with splendid material for quotations: In his speeches he is not choosy about the expressions he uses to characterize particular leaders.

These last, incidentally, respond in kind. In criticizing the Cuban communist party's policy, they do not forget the whole 10-million-strong people—the people are supposedly to blame for the fact that even 30 years after the victorious revolution the coutnry still has rationing and an atmosphere of general vigilance. When they experimentally substitute timber for oil, "rehearsing" for an energy crisis, and carry out maneuvers and exercises under slogans such as "Ideas offer more reliable protection than trenches," "rehearsing" for enemy aggression—while the whole world is burying the "cold war"—these actions may seem strange.

But there is no call for surprise. It is said that heroic moments in history are always tragic, and here in Cuba the third generation of revolutionary heroes are beginning their adult life. I saw the zealous eyes of 10-year-old Cuban boys who, biting their lips, were firing submachineguns at targets when they could hardly hold the heavy Kalashnikovs in their hands. In May, two million Cubans—great and small—took part in the "Cuban Shield" exercises: This was Fidel's response to the Americans' maneuvers, held at the same time, incidentally, at the Guantanamo naval base, which is located on the island's territory. I am afraid that when two countries, one of which has been expecting aggression from the other on a daily basis for three decades, while the other is in no hurry to abandon the principle of operating from a position of strength in relations with troublesome countries (remember Grenada and Panama), the dilemma of "Socialism or Death" may be resolved not by the logic of historical development, but by blind chance.

For several decades Cuba has been fulfilling the role of "outpost of socialism" in the Western Hemisphere, in the very "underbelly" of our recent enemy—a fighter can cover the distance to Florida in seven minutes. No particular secret is now being made of the fact that the United States regards Soviet military and economic aid to Cuba as practically the last problem remaining in relations between the two superpowers. Washington, it is customary to say, is preparing to "play the Cuban card."

If the USSR, Western observers reason, stops giving aid to Cuba and reduces exports of oil and other types of fuel if only by one-third, a situation will be created on the island such that the national economy will have to demonstrate its viability in conditions resembling an economic blockade.

People of the older generation doubtless remember the days when poems about Cuba appeared in our newspapers: "Capitalism wants to get its teeth into Cuba's throat." At that time inflexibility was in fashion. Now this iron ideology is being replaced by different principles. But something else is obvious: Many of the ideological and economic formulas now current in Cuba were at one time "imported" by us. It is, of course, possible to speak of the Cubans' "low resistance" to our policy in the times of stagnation, but no one is likely to dispute the fact that we too bear a share of the responsibility for the situation now obtaining in a country described as "allied" and "fraternal."

In essence, "Long live inflexibility!"—that is the mirror of our own not too distant past. And Cuban realities can hardly be measured by the "East European yardstick." And artificial oversimplification of the nature of the events taking place in the country can only lead to the replacement of one "inflexibility" by another.

Foreign Minister Interviewed on Cuban Ties

PY0208033490 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0200 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Interview with Yuriy Pavlov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Latin American Department, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The Day of National Rebellion is being celebrated today in Cuba. Events of 37 years ago are commemorated, when the organization [word indistinct], which was created by Fidel Castro, assaulted the Moncada Barracks in the city of Santiago de Cuba, a citadel of Batista, who was then the dictator of the country.

[Words indistinct] Yuriy Pavlov, chief of the Latin America Department at the USSR Foreign Ministry, evaluating the level of Soviet-Cuban cooperation. He said:

Current Soviet-Cuban relations are characterized by the broad cooperation [words indistinct] of the foreign policy, just like the other problems. Relations of confidence have long existed between our countries, and they were further developed in April last year, during the visit to Cuba by Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Soviet Union, when a friendship and cooperation treaty was signed. It should be understood that [words indistinct] some amendments in some kind of cooperation or another. It can be said, though, that as years go by, cooperation gains in strength and efficiency.

The [words indistinct] that are known in the USSR elicit the [word indistinct] response in Cuba. How can this be reshaped to develop bilateral links?

Pavlov indicated that it would be wrong to think that the process taking place in the Soviet Union—the measures adopted to restructure our political system and economy—are not understood in Cuba. Fidel Castro clearly spoke about this during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Cuba, stressing that Cubans hope for perestroyka to succeed and that the future of bilateral cooperation depends on its success. The more successful the restructuring of the Soviet economy, the quicker an efficient economic system can be built and the more prosperous our cooperation with other countries can become, including Cuba. Important changes are also taking place in Cuba under the name of rectification.

Taking into account the difficulties being experienced in the Soviet Union, how do you see prospects for economic cooperation between the two countries?

Pavlov states that the prospects for our cooperation with Cuba are good in terms of quality, although not in terms of volume. The Soviet and Cuban [words indistinct] cooperation on the basis of mutual progress, on a sound economic basis. [Words indistinct] In sum, the new links that will replace the centralized [words indistinct].

This was a presentation from the Latin American Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Peruvian Leader Greets Delegation on Relations

LD0208095290 Moscow TASS in English 0650 GMT 2 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Igor Varlamov and Igor Fedorov]

[Text] The Soviet delegation headed by Aleksander Mokanu, a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and deputy chairman of the Council of the Union of the Soviet Parliament, was recieved on Wednesday by President Alberto Fujimori of Peru.

The delegation arrived here to attend the activities to mark the transfer of the presidential power.

Mokanu handed over to Fujimori the personal [words indistinct] President Mikhail Gorbachev. During their conversation, the sides stated that the level of relations that formed between the USSR and Peru served as the reliable foundation for expanding mutually beneficial contacts. They emphasised mutual aspiration for the development of new forms and areas of cooperation.

Mokanu and Fujimori were unanimous that the Soviet-Peruvian dialogue could in many respects be viewed as an example of fruitful relations between sovereign states with differing socio-political systems.

The Soviet delegation also had a talk with Peruvian Foreign Minister Luis Marchand.

Both meetings passed in a warm and amiable atmosphere and demonstrated the striving to promote mutual understanding and cooperation.

Political & Social

Ryzhkov To Chair Government Meeting on Harvest

LD0208075890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] A meeting of the country's government on resolving urgent problems relating to harvesting, with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov in the chair, will take place in Moscow today. The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers had a two-day trip around the farms of the Volga region and neighboring Kazakhstan. The position is complicated, he said. The town must render help to the countryside, otherwise a significant part of the harvest might remain in the fields.

Moscow's Prokofyev Comments on Congress Events

PM31107134490 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 30, 24-30 Jul 90 p 5

[Report by Dmitriy Polikarpov on press conference remarks by Yuriy Prokfyev, Politburo member, Central Committee of the CPSU, First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU under the rubric "Delegates Speak"]

[Text] It was a dramatic congress, swinging now to the left, now to the right. Many journalists described it as very conservative. I wouldn't say so. The trouble lies not in conservatism but in the fact that a considerable part of delegates had low political standards. This explains the uneven course of the Congress. Nevertheless, the delegates arrived at correct decisions in almost all cases.

The first dramatic moment came when the Congress had to evaluate the work of the Central Committee. Some resolute-minded delegates insisted on the resignation of the Central Committee and the Politburo and suggested that their work should be assessed as unsatisfactory. There was an unfavourable review of the five years of perestroika.

All this seemed to indicate that the work of the Central Committee should indeed be assessed as unsatisfactory. It would mean denying the course adopted by the Party in April 1985 and denouncing perestroyka itself. In the end, the delegates reached a wise decision. The Congress decided to give a political evaluation of the Central Committee's policy and not to weigh all the microscopic merits and demerits, excesses and costs of perestroyka. An opposite decision would, in my opinion, put an end to the party.

Another dramatic moment was the election of Deputy General Secretary. I was surprised to learn that Ligachev did not remove his candidacy. He evidently overestimated his popularity. The election of Ligachev—and the majority of delegates understood that—would mean a split in the party.

A third critical situation arose when, after the results of elections to the Central Committee had been made public, it turned out that such prominent personalities as Leonid Abalkin, Mikhail Ulyanov, and Aleksandr Gelman had not been elected. If the Congress did not decide to increase the membership of the Central Committee, one could get the impression that the delegates reject the intellectual elite of our society.

In the newly elected 24-man Politburo only two were members of the previous body. Neither the prime minister nor other ministers are members of the new Politburo. The new Politburo includes members who will direct political inner-party work. This shows that the party consistently pursues its course for the division of power and the transfer of power to the Soviets. There is something else new. The Politburo now includes secretaries of the Communist Parties of the constituent republics. Many feared this would impair the party's unity and impart a federalist character to it. I think that in the present situation it was simply necessary to do this.

Among other dramatic events of the Congress is the withdrawal of Yeltsin, Sobchak, Popov, and the Shostakovskiy-led group (part of the Democratic Platform) from the Communist Party. I talked with Shostakovskiy several times and tried to convince him that he could conduct work more effectively from within the party. However, we have different points of view. In his opinion it is necessary to found another party, cooperating with the CPSU, which would promote a more rapid growth of a multiparty system in our country. As distinct from other recently founded parties which declare their anti-communist position and reluctance to have anything to do with the CPSU, Shostakovskiy and those who share his views are prepared to tackle problems of society in cooperation with the communists. We also stand for cooperation with those who advocate the socialist option or at least universal values.

Kuptsov Discusses New Party Department

LD0208091890 Moscow TASS in English 0643 GMT 2 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Natalya Kupriy]

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—"The setting up of a new department in the Soviet Communist Party, responsible for work with socio-political organisations, was prompted by perestroyka, by life itself," CPSU Central Committee Secretary Valentin Kuptsov believes.

"The process to form parties and movements in the country is breathtaking. Various civil initiatives have mushroomed. The three-volume reference book, which was issued recently, only lists diverse movements, associations, clubs and funds and gives brief synopses.

"Over 20 parties, which have their tasks, programmes and statutes, are in operation in the country at the all-union level today," Kuptsov told TASS. "For the present, the parties have a small membership. But this

process will develop and the CPSU should predict precisely the alignment of the political forces and define in advance tendencies in their development.

"Under the strategic line formulated in the programme statement of the 28th CPSU Congress, we are duty bound to cooperate directly will all parties and associations that opted for the socialist path and, as partners, to work with movements of a truly democratic thrust.

"Certainly, we should give a rebuff and defend our party against various ungrounded attacks and blackguarding. This is my point of view, the view of the communist and secretary of the party Central Committee," Kuptsov stressed.

According to Kuptsov, the party has now encountered the task of analysing and forecasting the alignment of the political forces, dialogue and cooperation. In his view, other movements as well are interested in the stability of the situation and the improvement of life. The CPSU will have to form alliances and coalitions and carry out joint actions with some movements.

Kuptsov points to the psychological unpreparedness of many party and other officials to accepting the new political situation. To speed up perestroyka, movement should be made towards direct cooperation. For this purpose, it is necessary that part of the party officials wreck their psychological barriers.

According to Kuptsov, the leaders of many new parties, which are heading for confrontation rather than cooperation, also have psychological barriers. "In this regard, all of us need a kind of a code of the multi-party conduct, the main requirements of which are the respect of the country's Constitution and laws, concern about the people's welfare, readiness to work for the socialist choice, the mastering of the polemics culture and renunciation of the enemy image," Kuptsov emphasised.

Further on Kuptsov's Comments

LD0108204590 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] The Soviet Communist Party is facing the task of establishing dialogue with forces which take interest in stability and higher living standards in the country. A party secretary, Valentin Kuptsov, has told a Tass correspondent the party will have to enter alliance and coalitions, and carry out joint actions with various groups. Kuptsov is heading a newly formed section of the Central Committee responsible for contacts with political and public organizations. At present, the Soviet Union has more than 20 political parties, with their own programs and sets of goals. Valentin Kuptsov admitted that many party leaders were taken aback by the situation.

Yurkov Calls for 'Open Doors' in Party

PM0208085290 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 31 July 90 p 1

[Commentary by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA Editor in Chief Anatoliy Yurkov from the "Editor's Opinion" column: "The Open Doors Style"]

[Text] When will party committees open their buildings to everyone? This was the question posed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at last Saturday's CPSU Central Committee Secretariat session.

"The doors of gorkoms [city party committees] and obkoms [oblast party committees] must be opened wide," the general secretary said, and at this the thought occurred to me: What about the Central Committee? Will the Central Committee doors simply remain open only for those who know the magic, nomenklatura "password," while ordinary people, including communists, get no further than the reception room? It turned out that Gorbachev's intentions extend further.

"Here too, in Staraya Ploshchad, part of the Central Committee premises must be made open to everyone," Mikhail Sergeyevich continued. And he added in unparliamentary language: "They cultivated dead wood and red tape in party buildings, they were scared that people would tread on the parquet and the carpets. How will we communicate with the people and establish dialogue with opponents if we are fenced off from everyone by militia guard posts?!"

The discussion of open doors in party committees did not, of course, start accidentally. I do not think there are any "accidental" topics at these sessions: Everything that is uttered aloud has been pondered in advance, has matured and awaited its time. The same goes for the topic of open doors. In the final analysis even if a room is open to the four winds people will not go within a mile of it if a sullen chairman presides within. The point lies elsewhere.

At this session of the Secretariat, I could not rid myself of the desire to make comparisons: The congress has finished, what now—will everything continue along the same well-worn rut, or along a new road? Will the new party Central Committee and its Secretariat, which includes many Politburo members, remain "within the framework of the congress" or go further—which means, among other things, further along the road of democratization?

Yes, the open doors of party committees are, if you like, a symbol of party openness. Only an open party that shows its face to the people and their needs, fears, and anxieties can expect to encounter interest in return.

An open party means new working methods. It is necessary to approach people, to go into labor collectives and reply to all questions. Including questions which are unpleasant—for yourself and for them.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA's own correspondents report that in many party committees in the localities, work is not being launched in the proper way on the basis of the innovative documents adopted at the 28th party congress; people are awaiting additional instructions and orders. And a wave of indignant criticism aimed at the center is already rising—again, they are saying, the Central Committee is late.

But is the Central Committee late? And if it is late, then what with? After all, all the congress materials have been published, what else are they waiting for in the localities?

Look at what the CPSU's opponents are doing, and how. Before the congress delegates had even left Moscow, a rally of many thousands of people was seething in Manezhnaya Ploshchad, devoted to the results of the party forum. No, it was not the newly elected CPSU Central Committee which held it. Nor the congress delegates. Nor the supporters of Gorbachev, whose line triumphed at the congress after all. The organizers of the rally were forces and individuals who are committed to the collapse of the party, and who are themselves energetically working toward this, declaring the party incapable of reform. They would like to portray the victory of Gorbachev and his supporters at the congress as the last day of Pompeii. And, unfortunately, the anticommunists' sortie at this rally did not receive the proper rebuff: Evidently other people were awaiting special instructions too.

I can imagine the picture—the Central Committee has said: That's it, there will be no more instructions and orders, let the party committee and each activist determine their own course of action in accordance with the documents of the congress. Bright, enterprising perestroyka forces, I am sure, are only too glad of this. Because no Central Committee, no instruction, can foresee the situation prevailing in the shop floor primary organization or in the field camp. People's relations are never standardized. And only the party committee and the activist who proceed from the interests of man, from life, will meet with understanding.

The editor's mailbag brings people's anxious questions almost every day: Will the upsurge in crime in the country come to an end? Where is the president looking, where are the party and its Central Committee looking? This is the question people are asking—the party's renunciation of its monopoly on power and of the practice of doing the administrative organs' job is by no means accepted by everyone. People as yet still see the party as the only force capable of changing the situation for the better. And if the situation is not changing they blame, naturally, the party.

Unfortunately, and this was noted by Mikhail Sergeyevich, the press does not hurry to clarify the situation. The following situation, for example.

In my view, we, the contemporaries of perestroyka, are both witnesses of, and participants in—some willingly and some unwillingly so—the birth of a new historical phenomenon: the dictatorship of the soviets. Before our very eyes the dictatorship of the individual, and later of the party, is being replaced by the dictatorship of the soviets. It is already a fact that soviets at all levels impinge on the rights, including the property rights, of labor collectives. Trade unions have even been forced to make a public protest because local soviets are illegally seizing apartments built by labor collectives for the people on the soviets' waiting lists. The soviets' diktat has led in several places to direct violations of human rights, including a de facto "employment ban" on political grounds. And here is an alarming fact: Soviet organs have here and there paralyzed the operations of the law enforcement forces and in effect given their blessing to the dangerous actions of paramilitary formations of local nationalists.

Antisocialist and antiparty forces are playing a subtle game: Having created a hotbed of high tension, they blame first and foremost the party as such and as the ruling political force which formed the present government.

An open party must speak openly about this. At rallies and elsewhere.

See how our opponents exploit any situation, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said. A noble ecological movement has been formed in the country. The situation in some regions really is difficult and threatens people's health. Participants in the nature conservation movement assemble a rally in order to protest against the department to blame for this, against the soviets for not protesting against it, and against the government for allocating meager resources for nature conservation measures. Whereupon the party's enemies infiltrate these rallies and, with their characteristic shamelessness, seize the initiative, elbowing aside the real organizers, and lead the attack... against the CPSU. They, it transpires, are allegedly for nature and the people, and the party is against them.

Why are party leaders not to be seen at these rallies?

"I like the way that Yuriy Anatolyevich Prokofyev runs things in Moscow," Mikhail Sergeyevich said. "He walks openly and boldly into any auditorium, and enters into dialogue with spokesmen of any political current. And he often succeeds in consolidating forces that were fighting one another only yesterday."

"The press is of great help to me in this," responded Prokofyev.

"And the press must be more actively enlisted in the political battle," rejoined Mikhail Sergeyevich.

The conversation turned to the press more than once at the secretariat session. It is clear today that almost no one will be able to sit it out on the sidelines while the political struggle acquires a qualitatively new character. The party's political opponents, banking on its being

discredited and splitting, have set themselves the goal of removing it from power. Why?

So far the mass media have not asked this question. And it has become critical. What kind of forces are preparing to come to power? What is their program? Why do they not publish it?

Meanwhile the opposition forces score points for criticizing the party, for exposures—false and real, and for rejecting socialism. But what do they offer in exchange? The restoration of capitalism? The 100-percent dismantling of state and public ownership? Will the people accept this sort of "democracy"?

Of course, as at any other critical juncture in history, the people themselves will in the final analysis make the choice today. The labor collectives and the working people have by no means the least important say in this choice. It is for them that party committees must be prepared to go over to an open doors routine in their work.

RSFSR Congress Polled on Party Structure

90UN2377B Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jul 90 p 3

[Unattributed article: "See Where You Fit in the Poll—Results of Sociological Research"]

[Text] During the work of the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the sociological service "Syezd" conducted a poll in which 2,212 delegates participated. We present some of its findings for your consideration.

Answers to questions are given in percentages of the number of those polled. In some cases, the sum of the answers is greater than 100 percent inasmuch as those polled could mark off several variants of an answer. At the same time, not all of those polled answered all questions.

Your attitude toward the platforms listed below?

	fully support	partially support	do not support
Platform of the CPSU Central Committee	45	44	2
"Democratic Platform in the CPSU"	5	48	12
"Marxist Platform in the CPSU"	3	44	12

It can be seen from the table that only half of the delegates in one way or another made up their minds with respect to the platforms. At the same time the other half has yet to make its choice. Also, 456 delegates, or 21 percent of those polled, support all three platforms simultaneously.

What in your opinion is most important of all for strengthening the party?

consolidation of all trends that exist in it	59
getting rid of people who do not believe in the ideals of socialism	29
getting rid of conservatives	17

How do you visualize the CPSU?

party of consolidation of all strata of society that support the ideas of socialism	83
political organization of the working class	13

What type of party should the CPSU become as a result of the congress?

become a party of the vanguard type	65
become a party of the parliamentary type	20

Only 35 persons responded to a request to express an opinion that was different from the variants presented. A majority of them are for a combination of the functions of parties of the parliamentary and vanguard type.

Your attitude to the principles of democratic centralism?

retain but intensify democratic principles in them	71
shift to principles of democratic unity	22
they need to be retained in an unaltered form	4

What principles of party construction do you support?

territorial-production	72
let communists decide where they are to enroll on the party register	21
territorial	7
according to interests of communists (creation of party clubs)	4
undetermined	1

What is your attitude to the theory of scientific socialism elaborated by Marx, Engels, and Lenin?

requires development and purging of distortions and dogmatism	86
it is completely correct	9
it is erroneous	3

What do you think about the proposal to rename the CPSU?

retain the existing name	80
a new name is needed	14

Those who are for renaming propose the names—"Party of Humane Democratic Socialism," "Socialist," "Social-Democratic," and others.

What do you think about the idea of eliminating the party organization in the Army, organs of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the Office of the Public Prosecutor, and the KGB?

disapprove	63
approve	26

The delegates intend to work actively at the 28th CPSU Congress, and 60 percent of them intend to speak. More than half—57 percent—are firmly counting on the fact that the 28th CPSU Congress will help overcome the crisis in the country, 36 percent have doubts about success, and three percent do not believe in it at all.

Popov Discusses State, Party Property

LD0108201890 Moscow TASS in English 2008 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—Chairman of the Moscow City Council Gavril Popov believes the current situation in the Soviet Union can result in changes in the mechanism, moving perestroyka.

The 28th Communist Party Congress revealed that there are no forces in the country powerful enough to bar perestroyka, Popov told a news conference here today. The problem is whether perestroyka will be developed by apparat in a conservative fashion or by radicals along democratic paths.

The central point of the two possible variants is the fate of the property, currently owned by the state. If the conservative variant succeeds, party and state apparat will capture the property. If the second variant is realised, the property will be evenly distributed among all society members, Popov said.

The party property is a variety of the state property and similar principles should be applied to it, Popov believes. The party property should be given the same status as the state property and distributed among all members of society. If nationalisation is needed for this, let it be nationalisation, Popov said.

PRAVDA Views Republic Sovereignty Issues

PM0208092990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 3-4

[Article on "Discussion Page No. 55" by Academician V. Kudryavtsev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under the rubric "We Invite Discussion": "Declarations of Sovereignty and the Union Treaty"]

[Text] Declarations of state sovereignty have been adopted in many Union republics in recent months. These documents, which have been discussed in detail in the republics' supreme organs of power, mark a very important stage on the path of the peoples' state development, comparable with the period of the formation of their national statehood. In actual fact, in expressing the peoples' will, the declarations not only solemnly proclaim state sovereignty but also enshrine a number of fundamental points on which the republics' political and economic status is based and which define the paths of their further development. A republic's sovereignty, the majority of the declarations state, is an essential condition for the existence of its statehood.

The declarations voice determination to create democratic, rule-of-law states within the renewed USSR. This aim is developed in a number of specific points. Thus, the Declaration of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] proclaims the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws; the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers; the guarantee of the rights and freedoms provided for in the republic and USSR Constitutions, as well as in universally recognized norms of international law, for all citizens and persons without citizenship; equal legal opportunities to participate in the management of state and public affairs for all citizens, political parties, public organizations, mass movements, and religious organizations. Finally, the declarations state allegiance to the universally recognized principles of international law and readiness to live in peace and concord with all countries and peoples in the world.

It is of fundamental significance that the declarations of republics' state sovereignty open up the way to drawing up a new Union treaty and outline important milestones on this path. In this connection I will dwell on several urgent questions.

First, the volume of rights and powers being voluntarily transferred by the republics to the USSR's jurisdiction. This will most likely be the main topic in the work on preparing the new Union treaty. It is very complex. Nevertheless, individual positions and certain aspects of resolving it are already becoming apparent. For example, the resolution of the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies of 22 June 1990 "On Delimiting the Functions of Management of Organizations on RSFSR Territory (Basis of the New Union Treaty)" recommends preserving Union management in the spheres of defense, state security, civil aviation, railroads, the maritime fleet, communications, power generation, electrification, the nuclear industry, and also the Union programs for defense and cosmonautics. I would add to this the ensuring of other basic scientific research of all-Union significance, as well as the organization of all-Union statistics and information, the defining of the country's economic and social development strategy, and, of course, the implementation of international ties on the scale of the entire USSR.

It can be seen from the republican documents that different opinions exist on the powers of the Union and the republics in the spheres of finance and customs. It seems that the introduction of "republic money" or the abolition of the Union banking system cannot promote the organization of efficient market relations in the

country—which appears to be something that all the republics seek. The creation of internal customs barriers would still further hinder this.

The delimitation of the competence of Union and republic law-enforcement organs is a complex task. On the one hand, it is expedient to maximally extend republic authority in this sphere, as otherwise it would be difficult to take account of the historical, national, and other peculiarities in the life of the local population. On the other hand, there are at least three aspects of the activity of law-enforcement organs which transcend republic problems. First, violations of all-Union legislation; second, disputes between enterprises and organizations belonging to different republics; and, third, problems of international law, including certain forms of crime (narcotics, smuggling, skyjacking, and others). A careful study should be made of the proposals to create a system of federal courts, including on economic questions. At the same time overall supervision of the state of legality in the country must, of course, be unified and independent of all persons and organs. In this connection major doubts are aroused by the idea in the Ukrainian SSR Declaration of having the republic's general prosecutor not subordinate or responsible to the USSR general prosecutor.

Many questions of relations between the USSR and the republics could be resolved within the framework of their joint competence. For this it is necessary to create a corresponding legal mechanism. Obviously, certain Union republic ministries and departments must be preserved. In addition, as the RSFSR Declaration points out, for example, the republic has a right to participate also in the realization of those powers which it has transferred to the USSR. This is already happening in various forms.

A second question closely linked with the preceding one is the sovereignty of the USSR. Since the republics' treaty forms a single union of states, the need arises to enshrine and ensure the sovereign rights of this union. One of these is the supremacy of all-Union laws as acts expressing the will of the entire community. The republic declarations say nothing about this and, moreover, upon examination of certain texts, one might get the impression that such supremacy does not even exist.

This, of course, is a misunderstanding. The supremacy of the law and, consequently, also its priority are determined by the competence of the organ that adopted it. The republics' declarations of state sovereignty proclaim the fullness of the republic's authority in resolving all questions of state and public life, with the exception of those which it transfers to USSR jurisdiction. A republic law has priority over a Union law when it meets the said requirement; that is, it was adopted within the limits of the republic's powers. The supremacy of a Union law is ensured in the same way: It has priority if it was adopted on questions transferred to the USSR's jurisdiction by the republics. "Juridical symmetry," if I may put it like this, must be observed here.

These considerations are contradicted by the points in certain declarations to the effect that a Union law operates on the republics' territory only if it has been ratified (Moldova) or approved (Uzbekistan) by the republic organ of power. I believe that this sharply lessens the role of those plenipotentiary representatives of the republics—deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet—who all together adopted the Union law. Their decision is essentially being doubted and revised. In addition, a general juridical principle is violated: A joint agreement or treaty among the sides has priority over a decision of just one side. This principle has recently been enshrined repeatedly in all-Union laws in the international legal aspect: In the event of a contradiction between the USSR's internal legislation and an international treaty, the rules of the international treaty apply. Are there grounds for diverging from this just principle if it is a question of a difference between a republic's legislation and a common, collective decision adopted with its participation in the USSR's supreme organ of power?

It must be said that the reasons associated with the desire to emphasize somewhat less the significance of Union legislation are, in general, understandable and arouse sympathy and respect in many ways. For a long time the diktat of Union departments hindered the development of Union and autonomous republics, standardization was carried out so zealously between Union and republic laws, and republican sovereignty was flouted. No wonder that attention is now being focused on the republics' full rights, sometimes even without adequate regard for the fact that many common questions affecting all subjects of the federation still have to be resolved.

And it is impossible to avoid them. One of these questions—maybe the most important one—is the question of state property belonging to Union, republic, or local organs. A USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 6 March 1990 entrusted the USSR Council of Ministers with ensuring, jointly with the republics' governments, the delimitation of property between all-Union and Union republic ownership. Things are moving slowly or, more accurately, are at a standstill. And this naturally gives rise to a pointed reaction. And so various republic initiatives come into being: There is a desire to assign to the republic the entire "economic, scientific, technical, and financial potential on its territory" without exception (Moldova) or an intention to single out "its share in the all-Union budget, particularly in the all-Union diamond and currency funds and the gold reserve" (the Ukraine). In this the law "On the Delimitation of Powers Between the USSR and Subjects of the Federation," adopted in April 1990, is not always taken into account. I repeat, all these desires are understandable and in many ways justified. But I would like to see them realized in the constructive forms which must prevail in a rule-of-law state and a democratic society—not by means of unilateral actions but on the basis of agreements, after comprehensive discussion.

In order to strengthen the foundations of the sovereign republics' joint cooperation and mutual responsibility it seems very important to prepare the new fundamental law of the whole country—the USSR Constitution—in good time. It is not just a matter of this law reflecting the provisions of the Union treaty—it could also operate outside the Constitution. Something else is important: It is necessary to enshrine in the Union's Constitution those principles of the life of Soviet society which would be indisputable throughout its territory and would apply equally to any person, state organ, or public organization. Above all, these are citizens' rights and freedoms, equal for each and every person who lives on the territory of any of the Union or autonomous republics. Citizens of nonindigenous nationalities have recently become increasingly fearful that their rights may be infringed. Taking this into account, it is possible to say the following: If strict standardization of legislation is needed anywhere, it is precisely in this sphere. A person's rights do not depend on his place of birth or residence. And this must be guaranteed by both Union and republic laws.

Working actively on questions of the republics' sovereignty, many specialists have recently begun to use the term "sovereignty" extremely broadly. They have begun calling the republic and the oblast, the enterprise, and the individual citizen sovereign. I would not support such a use of the word. However, regarding the citizen, it has to be said that precisely his sovereignty—or, more accurately, autonomy, independence, freedom—is the cornerstone of republic and Union statehood. You can elevate the authority of republics or the Union and extend their powers as much as you like, but if the well-being, freedom, and inviolability of citizens are not ensured here, then the basic purpose of all our state and legal structures—concern for the person and his worthy living conditions—will not be fulfilled. In my opinion, a declaration of human rights must be a very important section of the USSR Constitution. The supremacy and priority of its provisions over both Union and republic laws must not give rise to any doubts.

The third range of questions arising during the preparation of the Union treaty is associated with the procedure for resolving disputes and disagreements between republics and the USSR.

It is quite impossible to deny the existence of such disagreements; on the contrary, it is necessary to take such a possibility into account and seriously think through the mechanisms for resolving them. The 1924 Union Treaty, for example, included such mechanisms, and it was envisaged that the Union republic central executive committees had the right to appeal against decrees and resolutions of the Union Council of People's Commissars without suspending their execution (Article 15). But the orders of USSR people's commissars were suspended (Article 17). Then all these rules were gradually eliminated. Nowadays a similar question has partly been touched on in the republic declarations. Thus, the RSFSR Declaration of State Sovereignty states: The operation of USSR acts which come into conflict with the RSFSR's sovereign rights is suspended by the republic on its own territory. Disagreements between the republic and the Union are resolved according to the procedure laid down in the Union Treaty.

In discussing the problem of contradictions between Union and republic laws and disagreements among states, it is obviously necessary to bear both its aspects in mind. Not only might the Union prove to be wrong, as stated in the declarations, but the republic might be wrong, too. Unfortunately, the latter circumstance is frequently not even mentioned. And the procedure for resolving disputed situations is imperfect. The Constitutional Oversight Committee is not now involved in examining disputes between the Union and a republic—its powers have been curtailed pending the adoption of the Union Law. The only thing that remains is to rely on decrees from the country's president. But a presidential decree merely finalizes a matter; it cannot take the place of the procedure of talking, ascertaining the subject of a dispute, seeking ways to mutual agreement, etc. So it is important to find for the draft Union treaty effective mechanisms embracing, first, all possible differences between Union and republic laws and normative acts; second, disputes between the Union and the republic; third, disputes between two or several republics.

There are quite a lot of questions connected with the preparation of the new Union treaty: I have touched on just a small part of them. I believe that this whole range of problems must be submitted for wider, democratic discussion. Collective reason will suggest the right solutions and make it possible to prepare more perfect documents.

From the editors: Among the political problems that require resolution without delay, the preparation of the Union treaty may be said without exaggeration to occupy the key place. We hope that readers will continue the discussion which has begun and share constructive thoughts and suggestions for the future Union treaty in the newspaper's pages.

Minister Bakatin Says MVD 'Will Manage'

PM0108135590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Jul 90 First Edition pp 1,3

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev under the rubric "Publicist's Notes": "The Clock Has Been Set in Motion. The Presidential Decree Must Be Implemented"]

[Excerpts] "At last!"—this emotional cry inevitably escaped people's lips as soon as the USSR president's decree on prohibiting the creation of armed formations that are not specified in Union legislation and on confiscating illegally acquired weapons was read out. Finally a serious step has been taken with the aim of putting an end to the tyranny, recklessness, and connivance that do not come within any conception of common sense, and that have already led to innumerable disasters, human

deaths, and new twists in interethnic tension and destabilization of the situation in the country. The measures outlined in the decree are necessary and concrete. But again a painful sense of bewilderment made itself felt: Why did this not happen months ago? Why now, when it is too late to bring back hundreds of human lives? [passage omitted]

We have already tired of reading in the newspapers and hearing on the radio and television debates about the rule-of-law state side by side with reports on the emergence of bands of thugs, illegal national armies, armed formations of volunteers, self-defense groups, and so on and so forth. Somehow the one does not seem to tie up with the other. It is time to either create a rule-of-law state properly or.... No, not the other alternative. We already know what that involves. [passage omitted]

And so, the decree has been adopted. But many questions remain such as these, inter alia. Will the fate of some previous acts not befall the new act? After all, a USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia and measures to normalize the situation in that region was adopted in March of this year. It also ordered the complete disarmament of military groups, the confiscation of seized weapons, and the disbandment of extremist organizations. What was done after it was adopted? Or the following question, which worries many of our readers, particularly parents of servicemen: Will the burden of implementing the decree lie on the shoulders of the Army and the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] alone, and will that not lead to the further escalation of tension or even bloodshed?

At a press conference with V.V. Bakatin, member of the Presidential Council and USSR minister of internal affairs, held in the USSR Foreign Ministry press center on Friday, I asked him to explain more specifically how the functions involved in the implementation of the presidential decree will be distributed among the MVD and Soviet Army troops.

"Soviet Army subunits will operate only in the event of a state of emergency being declared in one region or another," he said, "which is of course highly undesirable. In this situation we will distribute our functions in some way. Until such conditions are introduced we will manage with our own forces."

Undoubtedly, the presidential act must be supported by effective concrete measures and a reliable mechanism for implementing it. And the main role here belongs to republic and local organs of power and law and order. It is they who, with the help of people's deputies and the public, must ensure the peaceful resolution of problems that arise and put out the sparks of national conflict. The whole country and all our people, who are tired of discord and senseless interethnic strife, expect this.

Fifteen days is not a long time, and the clock has already been set in motion.

Government's Right To Own Papers Defended

90US1202B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 30, 28 Jul-3 Aug 90 pp 2-3

[Response by A. Sukhanov in Moscow to letter from M. Artemenko, CPSU member and retired lieutenant colonel: "Should the Court Decide?"]

[Text] **The CPSU Central Committee and other party committees apparently do not intend to turn publishing houses and editorial services of newspapers and magazines over to the soviets, saying that these are the property of the party and not the state. Is this true?**

[Signed] M. Artemenko, member of the CPSU and retired lieutenant colonel.

Since the publication of the Law on the Press many questions like this one have arisen, and not just from ARGUMENTY I FAKTY readers. Indeed, how can this law be enforced if practically all the mass media belong to the Communist Party? What ruses the "partocrats" will resort to in order to keep control of the property that was once expropriated from the soviets can be seen from the following example.

The Moscow CPSU City Committee [Gorkom] asserts that it has the right to keep the newspapers MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA because they were established by the gorkom and the editorial and publishing complex was constructed with funds received from membership dues and revenues from the publishing activity of the Moscow Gorkom.

But if one looks at the bibliographical reference "USSR Newspapers, 1917-1969" (Moscow, 1969, pp 16, 38) it becomes clear that both newspapers were established by the Moscow Soviet and, correspondingly, it was their owner. The former was established on 18 July 1918 under the name of VECHERNIYE IZVESTIYA, and the latter on 6 December 1923 under the name VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA. You may ask how these newspapers became the property of the Moscow Gorkom.

Let us look at the documents again. The Eighth Congress of the RKP(B) [Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)] adopted a resolution concerning party control of all the press, according to which party workers had to be named editors of "soviet of deputies" newspapers. ("On Party and Soviet Press. Collection of Documents," Moscow, 1954, pp 211-212.)

Initially the key posts in the newspaper editorial offices were filled by party apparatus workers under the guise of their providing ideological guidance. Then the newspaper was declared to be an organ of the corresponding party committee, which thus became the administrator and financial power.

Thus on 18 March 1920 the Moscow CPSU Gorkom declared the newspaper VECHERNIYE IZVESTIYA (now, as was mentioned above, MOSKOVSKAYA

PRAVDA) as its organ. The name of the newspaper changed from year to year and not so long ago even the mention of the Moscow Soviet disappeared from the subheading. The process of the final appropriation of the newspaper by the party gorkom was lengthy but painless.

But that was not the case with all the newspapers. As shown by a preserved copy of VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA from 28 July 1930 with the subheading "Daily Newspaper of the Moscow Soviet," the first chairman of the Moscow Soviet, Ukhanov, managed to defend the newspaper VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA. But by 13 October 1931 the gorkom took revenge and Ukhanov was later shot as an "enemy of the people."

References by the CPSU gorkom to the notion that it initially financed these newspapers are groundless, since the Moscow Soviet printing base was built on enterprises that were nationalized by Soviet authorities and modernized at their expense and also with money from the local budget. Party dues collected by the gorkom were barely enough to sustain the inflated party apparatus. The fact that the CPSU gorkom, having usurped the printing base of the Moscow Soviet, received revenues and profit (without paying any taxes, incidentally) and used part of this profit for expanding the printing base, can hardly be recognized as a legitimate basis for the right to own it.

The aforementioned directive of the Eighth Congress of the RKP(B) cannot be recognized as a legitimate basis either because, according to the 1918 Constitution, all power in the RSFSR belonged to the soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasants deputies. According to this same constitution, no party directives could have the force of law. Although the Communist Party subsequently introduced into the Constitution Article 6 concerning its "leading force," this article was not retroactive and, moreover, the recent extraordinary USSR Congress of People's Deputies revoked it.

Consequently, according to Article 58 of the RSFSR Civil Code, the Moscow CPSU Gorkom must return the printing base in its present condition to its real owner—the Moscow Soviet.

A historical-archive group of experts appointed by the permanent commission of the Moscow Soviet for freedom of speech, the mass media, and affairs of public organizations verified and fully confirmed the facts given in A. Sukhanov's article.

By a decision of 19 July, the Presidium of the Moscow Soviet instructed this commission to file a property suit against the Moscow CPSU Gorkom through the State Arbitration Commission to recover for the Moscow Soviet the production publishing base that was illegally taken from it.

Yefimov Interviewed on Effects of New Press Law

LD0108205290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Press freedom, about which there has been so much talk, writing, and discussion for so long, has become reality in our country beginning today, 1 August 1990: The press law has come into force. How complete is this law? Our correspondent [Sedov] asked that question of Nikolay Ivanovich Yefimov, chief editor of IZVESTIYA:

[Yefimov] Only life will show how complete it is. I very much liked the idea expressed by several deputies and supported by Lukyanov, that it is necessary to return to laws—not only this one—after one and one-half or two years and to discuss in the Supreme Soviet which parts of the law are working and which are not and, if necessary, make additions to it and improve it. I think we will see after some 18 months what is complete about it and what is not.

[Sedov, identified by screen caption] Nevertheless, would you not like, say, to amend some points in this law, and in which direction?

[Yefimov] First and foremost, I feel the most important things in the law—first, the abolition of advance censorship and, second, the demonopolization of the mass media—are a revolution in our press, and the law was worth adopting for that reason alone. As for what should be amended today, as you put it, I would not start talking about that now. Let us try to live by this law, to make as much use as possible of what the law gives us, to the greatest degree. I think it will be clearer after a year to 18 months.

[Sedov] Do you think IZVESTIYA will change its appearance in connection with the fact that there is no censorship now; that this press law has come into force, in other words?

[Yefimov] I think it will change immediately. That does not apply just to IZVESTIYA; I think many will change. As for IZVESTIYA, we do not plan to change the newspaper's line and its appearance, which has attracted 11 million subscribers. In our view, there are lots of interesting things in the newspaper, but...

[Sedov, interrupting] That is our view too.

[Yefimov] Thank you. We are planning to improve the newspaper, however. We have a group of the most experienced journalists now working on the problem of IZVESTIYA for 1991. [video shows Sedov and Yefimov speaking]

CPSU's Dzasokhov Cited on New Press Law

LD0108170190 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 1 Aug 90

["Notes" by Sergey Vorabyev—read by announcer]

[Excerpts] A law on the press and other media has gone into force in the Soviet Union as of 1st August. Here are notes about this important event in the public and political life of this country from a Radio Moscow commentator, Sergey Vorobyev:

In the present time that we hear called the period of glasnost, the significance of the press law goes far beyond the framework of strictly professional journalistic interests. [passage omitted]

Here is what a Politburo member of the Soviet Communist Party, Aleksandr Dzasokhov, says about this law that has just gone into force:

[Begin Dzasokhov recording in Russian, fading to superimposed English translation] We support the recently adopted law on the press and its provisions, and regard it as a new, favorable condition for our entire democratic process. I would like to note the extremely important, positive role that the Soviet media have been playing, especially at the first stage of perestroyka, when they backed the new activity and public thinking.

To conclude, I'd like to underline that this law is truly democratic for two main reasons: First it abolishes censorship which is a must in a democratic society, and secondly it lays down the registration principle of setting up the media. As I see it, this removes many problems with the appearance here of new publications, independent news agencies, radio, and television stations. [end recording]

RSFSR Press Minister Poltaranin Explains Tasks

90US1202A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 30, 28 Jul-3 Aug 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with M. Poltoranin, RSFSR minister of the press and mass media, by I. Kabak; place and date not given: "The Fourth Power"]

[Text] **Three months ago an ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent spoke with M. Poltoranin, USSR people's deputy and chairman of the board of the Moscow city organization of the USSR Union of Journalists, (ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No. 17). Now we have another meeting with M. Poltoranin, but this time he is RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] minister of the press and mass media.**

[Kabak] Mikhail Nikiforovich, first of all we would like to congratulate you on your new appointment and wish you success in your work.

[Poltoranin] Thank you.

[Kabak] An extraordinary thing has occurred: As a legislator you worked for a year on the Law on the Press. Now, as minister, you must implement it. If this were to happen all the time our laws would undoubtedly be wiser. The task is difficult: The ministry has to lay the foundation for the fourth power—the power of public opinion, expressed by independent mass media. And so you have been given the portfolio of a minister and...

[Poltoranin] ...and a mass of problems of a political as well as organizational and economic nature. The organizational part is understandable. I have built several houses in my life and I always have had a plan. There are standard plans—everything is simpler then. Everything is neatly sorted out. We do not have a standard plan now. Our country has never had such ministries and everything will have to be started from scratch.

The economy of the branches that are to be combined in the ministry are in sad condition. There are no exceptions. The paper production base, the publishing base.

Political. The first stage is the struggle of relations between the republic and the center, and the second—the struggle for the mass media.

The confrontation between the center and the republics was brought about by the fact that the center is always lagging behind. When the government falls behind the processes it can think of nothing better to do than to halt them. But the processes continue in spite of resistance to them.

[Kabak] Which branches are included in the ministry's sphere of influence?

[Poltoranin] Book publishing. The Russian television broadcasting company. The Russian information agency, newspapers, magazines, and the paper producers are asking to come under our wing. The ministry will be not a dictator but a coordinator, which will set as its major task the strengthening of the material base for glasnost and ultimately the strengthening of the soviets. In general we shall solve all these problems in conjunction with the Union of Journalists.

[Kabak] Where will you begin?

[Poltoranin] With the concept. This is a conglomerate of politics and economics. Printing, paper production. We were going to begin with television—here we have the president's ukase. We were talking about creating a Russian information agency on the basis of the APN [Novosti Press Agency]—the offspring of the Cold War. Now in search of a niche in the perestroyka process, the agency is beginning to duplicate the work of TASS. We have raised this issue: Give us part of APN so as not to waste public money unnecessarily. As soon as we started talking about this it became known that another ukase is being prepared concerning transforming APN into the state agency. And that is the way it is with everything. They want to leave the Russian parliament and the republican government without a voice, without the

possibility of communicating with the people about what they are doing. Ultimately Russia could halt the financial support for the "ideological" structures with which the center is generously providing for itself, creating something like a cushion. We are arranging relations with INTERFAX and other independent associations. Next year we will begin to publish newspapers.

[Kabak] And the base?

[Poltoranin] One of the ministry's tasks is to carry out the government program for advancing culture. For 70 years the people have been duped, our brains have been befogged with caveman ideology. And they have tried using all means to kill culture in Russia.

Paper is the bread of culture. When I learned of the state of affairs in this branch I was in shock. Almost 60 percent of the paper combines have been in operation since the end of the last century and the beginning of this one. And 65 percent of the equipment is 100-percent obsolete. During the past 20 years the rates of increase of chemical processing of timber have decreased by a factor of five. We are sending round timber abroad for pennies. Russia has the largest supplies of timber in the world—73 billion cubic meters—but the production of pulp is one-sixth that of the United States; paper—one-eighth; writing and printing paper—one-fifteenth; and hygienic grades—one-fiftieth.

The same thing is true of printing. The party has taken all the best for itself and left the worst for the state.

In 1975 the best printing establishments were transferred to the party's books. The party expropriated what was built with the funds of the workers, and now the "partocrats" are declaring the sanctity and inviolability of party property.

And whenever printing houses an newspapers produced no profit, they were left with a subsidy from the state budget. Now the State Committee for the Press provides for the publication of 2,115 "small" newspapers, 80 percent of which operate at a loss. The republican budget pays 60 million rubles for maintaining them. Party committees at various levels are in charge of these publications. There is practically no machine-building base for domestic printing. Our machine building does not produce 182 of the 362 kinds of equipment necessary for printing. And that which is produced is 50 years behind the times. During the years of perestroyka the production of equipment necessary for publishing has decreased to 42 percent of the previous level. On the one hand we have words about glasnost, and on the other, the suffocation of this same glasnost.

So we are not even beginning from zero but from a negative number.

[Kabak] The ministry is taking on a lot. Are you not afraid that in time it will become a monster and that in fighting the monopolies it will become a monopoly itself?

[Poltoranin] I am not afraid of that. The ministry does not intend to dictate its will to publishers and publications. We will try to unite the forces of all structures involved in printing and the mass media so that they will all be switched over to a self-regulating basis and begin more effectively to serve the cause of the regeneration of morality in Russia. We are creating a coordination council that will include the editors of newspapers and magazines and the leaders of publishing houses. Together we will develop proposals to be implemented in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the republican government. We see our main task as rendering assistance to the legal support of glasnost.

What do the times demand of us? We must create a distribution commission which will include people's deputies, legal experts, and economists. Let them sit down and figure out what party property actually means. Where does it come from? How? Why do the party workers who have led the country to the brink of disaster receive a pension from the state and not the party? And how much public money have they gotten away with? How much hard currency has the party taken from the state for the acquisition of printing plants, medical equipment for polyclinics and sanatoriums for the privileged, furniture for dachas, and so forth? And they will draw up a bill. Then it will turn out that the party not only has nothing but that it owes the people billions. The Supreme Soviet may make a decision about nationalization of property and the party's payment of its debts to the people.

[Kabak] All that is in the future. What can be done now?

[Poltoranin] It is necessary to strengthen the base. We are now reaching an agreement to acquire university printing plants from the United States for the small ethnic groups of the north.

We have a firm understanding that we cannot lift the weight of our problems by ourselves. We shall enlist foreign capital to develop the paper industry and printing and to create capacities for producing video equipment. Foreign businessmen are meeting us halfway; they want to enter our market. We must not reject services from philanthropy either.

[Kabak] But is this not selling Russia out, as the conservatives like to put it?

[Poltoranin] For 70 years they have been pumping out the resources and remaining silent about it. They have sold raw material for strengthening the world socialist system, for strengthening the elite—generals of the party, the Army, the KGB, and the state. In a word, our resources have been sold to support totalitarian structures. Now Russia is changing the structures—they will not grind up foreign capital but use it to serve the people. But there will undoubtedly be attacks. They are already in evidence: The devices of the central party press are known—more hints, more slipshod reporting, less truth and common sense. Previously people took this bait, but now these methods have the opposite effect.

[Kabak] Mikhail Nikiforovich, a concrete question: The Law on the Press goes into force on 1 August. Let us assume that I wanted to publish a newspaper. What would I have to do?

[Poltoranin] The Russian government has adopted a decision whereby Russian publications are regulated by our ministry, and those in the autonomous republics, oblasts, and rayons, by local soviet organs.

If you obtain a license you may publish a newspaper. The rest of it is your concern—where to get the paper, where to print it. The idea is that we should help with paper and printing, and we shall do this; not now but after we strengthen the base. The bank will give you a loan, you will find a printer, and good luck.

[Kabak] Our country writes more than any country in the world. We write instructions, circulars, provisions, clarifications, and so forth. And we publish them. Does the ministry intend to impose order in the paperwork of offices and take the distribution of paper seriously?

[Poltoranin] We must make a sharp change now. The distribution of paper is a burning issue. Why is NOVYY MIR not being published and other popular publications are experiencing a paper famine while the CPSU Central Committee is "starting up" new newspapers and magazines?

Why are party publishing houses not concerned when the children's publishing houses "Malysh" and "Detskaya Literatura" are starving?

The ministry will make a proposal to the government to redistribute the paper. And when we create a base for glasnost, the Writers Union will start operating at full force, the market will go into action, and the ministry's functions will become narrower...

[Kabak] ...and you will be left without work.

[Poltoranin] That will mean that I have done the work entrusted to me.

Discusses Press Law

LD0108165690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0230 GMT on 1 August broadcasts within its "120 Minutes" program a seven-minute, live-or-recorded studio interview in which program presenter Mikhail Solntsev puts viewers' phoned-in questions to M.N. Poltoranin, minister for the press and mass media of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR].

The first caller wants to know if newspaper prices are going to increase, and by how much. Poltoranin explains that a great deal depends on the price of paper, which the USSR Government intends to raise by a factor of 2.5. Should that happen, newspapers prices will have to go up. Poltoranin says: "I think this is a most ill-informed decision by the government; a decision directed mainly at stifling our glasnost. The government just has not carried out the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution to the effect that on the introduction of the law on the press, the government—meaning the USSR Council of Ministers—should prepare all possible measures for the protection of readers and subscribers. It has not done this, but has put glasnost directly on the market. So our proposal is this: Let us carry on subscriptions for six months at the old prices, and in the course of those six months we will sort things out little by little and get ready for the market."

Asked if he thinks that many of the current newspapers, particularly the party ones, would not be better off amalgamated, Poltoranin disagrees, saying that a broad spectrum of opinion must be reflected. The law on the press prohibits a monopoly of the mass media; "this applies to the party newspapers. Why, for example, should the CPSU today have PRAVDA, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, and so on and so forth? Why is the CPSU swallowing up all the paper? The RSFSR Supreme Soviet's Mass Media Committee now is setting up, has already set up a commission, a group that will review this matter and submit proposals to the Supreme Soviet for somehow limiting the allocation of paper and bringing it under public control."

A viewer from Leningrad asks Poltoranin to comment on Vlasov's appointment as director of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY: "Well, Vlasov was chairman of NOVOSTI. Prior to that, he worked in the CPSU Central Committee, then went on to be chairman. All the NOVOSTI leadership came from the CPSU Central Committee. Today, when by presidential decree NOVOSTI has changed from being, so to speak, a public agency—although it never was public; it was subsidized by the state—to being a presidential, state agency, Vlasov simply has stayed on. That is, he was in place there, and in accordance with the decree, he came to the very same seat in a new capacity. To speak generally about what the new agency will do, I think it should work like the USIA in the United States, on propaganda, let us say, on presidential policy, state policy, propaganda abroad, but also should help somehow to broaden glasnost within the country. On the whole, I think the staff there at NOVOSTI are very good and that they will cope with this task."

Comrade Kuzmin from Moscow asks: "How, in the minister's view, will military secrets be safeguarded in the press?" Poltoranin replies: "Well, the trouble with this law on the press is that it has come out on its own." "The law is the flagship, and it should be followed by a whole series of laws, including one on safeguarding military and state secrets. We said that it needed to be adopted, inasmuch as censorship of the mass media is not permitted by law, and that means that there is need for a little list of state and military secrets endorsed at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and lodged with every editor, judge, and procurator. Then there would be

nothing for the Lito [Literary and Publishing Department of the People's Commisariat of Education]. They have not done that today, and so Glavlit [Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press], that is, our censor, once again is trying to keep its niche, a niche in a totaliarian state, which it was given after 1918. So Lito, the censor, has to remain. They are going to be restructured today. They are saying: Let us work with you on a financial autonomy basis. I think someone will do this, but in general we need to adopt this law now, in September, when there will be a session. The draft already exists, by the way."

Solntsev ends by thanking viewers for their questions and Poltoranin for appearing. Poltoranin interrupts to congratulate people on the introduction of the press law: "It is a law for the whole country, a law that expands human rights."

Press Official Discusses New Press Law

LD0108145790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 1 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Another very important event marks 1 August. I think it will also be marked in our history. The USSR law on the press came into force today, and I would like to congratulate our esteemed television viewers on this event, as well as the numerous readers and radio listeners, we journalists, and also our studio guest, (Aleksandr Semenovich Gorkovlyuk), deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Press [title as heard]. [passage omitted]

Aleksandr Semenovich, apart from registration, material provision is also essential for the emergence of new publications, and in general for the new law to operate with full force. What is the situation in this area? We all know that the situation with paper and multimedia resources is quite difficult, so how will this situation change?

[(Gorkovlyuk)] You know, it is very difficult to give an unequivocal reply here. It seems to me the traditional mass media will find themselves in the most difficult situation—the traditional newspapers and journals that have become accustomed to living, to put it bluntly, in somewhat greenhouse-like conditions. Because the new publications are most definitely counting on themselves, they have made precise calculations of their possibilities, and in general they will come out, it seems to me, sometimes with even greater success than our traditional publications. At the same time, this is one of the most difficult problems. It has turned out that freedom of the press is a very expensive pleasure, and the government is currently thinking seriously about this. True, they have protracted the problem somewhat—the terms of economic management from 1 January should have been announced earlier—but such is the fate of the press. Having taken on the role of initiator and disseminator of a market economy, it fell into this syndrome earlier than others, because money has to now somehow be obtained from people, and the output provided from 1 January. The government is thinking very seriously about these matters. At least Nikolay Ryzhkov has promised us, other mass media, the departments which are concerned about this, and the public, that the government will try to ensure the maximum—as they used to say, there's another term now—state order for paper. The situation with multimedia resources is extremely serious. The situation with inks for the publication of periodicals is very difficult.

[Announcer] Aleksandr Semenovich, excuse me, regarding this I would like to ask a question right away. It will be the last, and a very short reply. What is the situation with subscriptions? This matter is currently of concern to very many people.

[(Gorkovlyuk)] In our view subcriptions will begin on time; that is, from 1 August. A pecularity will lie in the fact that most likely prices for the majority of periodicals that are unable to make the deadline will be slightly higher than hitherto. But in general, in my view, subscriptions will proceed in an interesting way this year, and should ensure good opportunities for the Soviet people.

[Announcer] Will there be any restrictions?

[(Gorkovlyuk)] Everything depends on the wishes of the media themselves. They will determine this themselves.

[Announcer] Excuse me, I think that this rise in prices for subscribed publications will itself restrict the number of subscribers.

[(Gorkovluyk)] But on the other hand, the number of periodicals which we register will balance this, and society will receive a sufficient volume of information, and moreover, information that is varied, quite diverse. I think the balance will benefit society.

[Announcer] Thank you for the interview.

Chief Editor Explains INTERFAX Activities

90US1202C Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 30, 28 Jul-3 Aug 90 pp 4-5

[Interview with M. Komissar, editor in chief of INTERFAX, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent B. Stanishnev; place and date not given: "What Can INTERFAX Do?"]

[Text] **In communications with the mass media recently, including ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, there are more and more frequent references to the information agency INTERFAX. Judging from the editorial mail, this has not gone unnoticed by our readers, who are asking us to discuss the new agency.**

Our correspondent B. Stanishnev met with the editor in chief of INTERFAX, M. Komissar.

[Stanishnev] Mikhail Vitalyevich, the creation of INTERFAX essentially threw down the gauntlet to our ordinary information agencies such as TASS and APN. It took a lot of confidence in success to decide to compete on a commercial basis with such large monopolies....

[Komissar] The idea of INTERFAX arose from the fact that foreign diplomats and specialists were constantly complaining about the shortage of reliable information about what was happening in the USSR. They did not like the information from TASS because of its tendentiousness, its political coloring, its inefficiency, and so forth. Materials from APN had similar deficiencies. Therefore we decided to create a new agency for efficient and objective reflection of the events in the Soviet Union.

The preparations were under way for more than a year. We considered several models for conveying information and created our own network of correspondents. The joint Soviet-French-Italian enterprise Intervardo agreed to contribute the initial sum in rubles and hard currency and offered the equipment. The main editorial office of information for broadcasting abroad of the USSR Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] recruited professional journalists. That is how we began our work.

[Stanishnev] The first reports from INTERFAX appeared in September of last year....

[Komissar] Literally in the first two months we recouped all of our initial expenditures and now we are essentially working on self-financing. We publish in Russian, English, and Spanish. Our information is received by many Western embassies and firms and the majority of foreign correspondents who are accredited in Moscow. Recently French President F. Mitterrand became one of our honored subscribers. Our information goes to many Soviet leaders as well.

We have more than 100 correspondents in various cities of the Soviet Union. We have fax communications, which makes it possible to convey our immense flow of information efficiently.

So far the only possibility of conveying our information to the majority of Soviet people is through publishing INTERFAX reports in the newspapers or transmitting them on radio and television programs.

[Stanishnev] How do you sort out the information?

[Komissar] Ours is a commercial organization and therefore demand dictates supply. It is important for our consumers—that is, our subscribers—to know which political processes are taking place in our society and what is happening in the economy and the social sphere. Correspondingly, we give information from the areas of politics, economics, business, social problems, and so forth. But we also have a weekly that is devoted to problems of culture.

Our basic requirements are objectivity, accuracy, and removal of ideology from information. We give facts without emotions and we try not show our objective sympathies and antipathies.

I have been told that one of the former chairmen of Gosteleradio said: "It is not important that the news is outdated. It is important for it to be correct, even if it has to be reverified in three to five days." This is unacceptable to us. We have set for ourselves the task of working quickly and reducing mistakes to a minimum. And, of course, the reputation of a reliable source is the most important thing for us.

[Stanishnev] But we have already had occasion to read and hear refutations of your reports....

[Komissar] We have always rechecked news about which we have doubts—either with the help of other correspondents or by going to the officials. Practically every day we reject several reports that cannot be verified.

Concerning refutations, there have been only two of them and both of them passed through TASS channels. The TASS work methods surprised us somewhat. Its workers did not come to us and did not clarify which facts we had. Yet in at least one case we had irrefutable evidence that we were right. But we decided not to initiate an argument and not to "refute the refutation."

Incidentally, in international practice, one means of mass information does not refute another but simply gives its own information about the event: There are certain ethics in these relations.

[Stanishnev] We must give you your due: As a rule you convey the news about life inside the Union even before the Western "radio voices" do....

[Komissar] But in principle that is the way it should be: Soviet journalists should be the first to know about events in their country, Americans in theirs, and Germans in theirs. The fact that this has not been the case for us in the past is a result of our disinformation system. It seems to me that the work of INTERFAX has simply put everything in its proper place.

Gostelradio Chief Welcomes Cable TV Partnership

LD0108213690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Report from the constituent congress of the USSR Union of Cable and Air Television Organizations by correspondent O. Bobin, including recorded interview with M.F. Nenashev, chairman of USSR Gostelradio; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The constituent congress of the USSR Union of Cable and Air Television Organizations commenced work in Moscow today.

[Bobin] The independent, financially-autonomous studios are called cable television studios. They are operating in the Urals, Siberia, Moscow, where there are three, at the motor works in Gorkiy, and in Sverdlovsk and Leningrad. [passage omitted]

[Bobin] Mikhail Fedorovich, the press law is coming into force today, and it is symbolic that the cable television conference commenced work here this morning. This question immediately suggests itself: What is Gosteleradio's stance?

[Nenashev] Cable television is alternative television, which is defined by the press law. Speaking about stance, briefly, it amounts to taking all possible measures to encourage and assist the broad development of cable television in all regions in our country. Let me say at once that we are not disinterested here. We are aware that cable television deepens and widens significantly the possiblities of our Central Television and of air television in general, for it can reach all corners of our country. Second, our stance is based on the fact that cable television is a means with potential, possessing enormous possibilities for bringing spirituality to people. We do not have enough centers of culture and means of conveying it today.

[Bobin] You mean, Gosteleradio plus cable television?

[Nenashev] Gosteleradio plus cable television: If we put it as succinctly as that, that is the very alliance which is simply essential. We are not planning to command or control it, we are planning to interact and cooperate with cable television. And it follows from this that we are one of the founders, one of the participants, and one of the partners of this constituent congress.

[Bobin, to viewers] Thus, the creation of an alternative television commenced at the foot of the Ostankino tower today. [video shows congress in session; Bobin with delegate outside, and with Nenashev in foyer]

Television, Cable Union Established

LD0108125190 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] A union of cable and conventional television has been set up in Moscow. The Soviet Union has nearly 500 cable television networks servicing over five million viewers. This form of television is gaining ground. Interest is being shown by local authorities, enterprises, and cooperatives.

Associations and consortiums are being formed to facilitate the solution of the problems involved in its development. The union, holding its founding congress in Moscow, is to coordinate that effort.

Perestroyka Within Gosteleradio Questioned

90US1202D Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 30, 28 Jul-3 Aug 90 pp 6-7

[Report on interview with A. Zhetvin and S. Fonton by R. Rykova; place and date not given: "Perestroyka in Gosteleradio?"]

[Text] In February of last year, journalists A. Zhetvin and S. Fonton were banned from the air and transferred to lower-paid work for three months on the orders of A. Aksenov, former chairman of USSR Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting]. The punishment followed an information segment of the program "Mayak" in which they quoted material from the Polish magazine ODRODZENE about the Katyn affair which, as it says in the order, "caused harm to the interests of our country" and "was a gross political mistake."

A little more than a year later in a public statement from TASS the Soviet side expressed their deep regrets to the Poles for the Katyn tragedy, calling it one of the serious crimes of Stalinism. The journalists applied to the chairman of Gosteleradio, now M. Nenashev, to revoke the order accusing them of irresponsibility and political immaturity. An ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent met with A. Zhetvin and S. Fonton.

[Zhetvin] Just three months later M. Nenashev conveyed through his assistants that the order would not be revoked, although he recognized that it was incorrect. He explained this by saying that he did not wish to create a precedent which would entail a wave of appeals from unjustly accused people. We regard the act of the Gosteleradio chairman as a manifestation of the system that existed in TV and radio under A. Aksenov and continues to exist under M. Nenashev. In our view, such a precedent is necessary in order for people to believe that Gosteleradio has finally begun perestroyka and that justice triumphs.

[Rykova] Is the very act of banning radio and television journalists from the air democratic?

[Zhetvin] There is no doubt that it is illegal since one can be banned from the air in only two cases: for violation of constitutional norms, in other words, if a journalist calls for violence, inflammation of interethnic discord, or war, or if he casts doubt on his professionalism. Unfortunately, banning people from the air has become a matter of practice in radio and television. For example, I have been cut off repeatedly during the past few months. In February for reporting from a rally of democratic forces in Manezhnaya Square. In June, for the fact that in the segment called "Panorama" of the "Mayak" program about the disgraces occurring in the capital's airports I investigated the conditions under which our high leaders make their flights. And, finally, I have also been banned from the air now simply because during a broadcast during the work of the 28th Congress

I entered into a dispute with one of the party functionaries who asserted that Lenin was in favor of collective party leadership and did not demand personal responsibility.

But what is surprising is that today being banned from the air is not documented and no political evaluations are given. They simply call you in and say that you are not working in a professional manner.

[Rykova] A couple of days ago the country's president issued an ukase "On Democratization and Development of Television and Radio Broadcasting in the USSR." How do TV and radio workers feel about it?

[Zhetvin] On the whole the appearance of such an ukase could be welcomed, but in its particulars it raises many questions. It is no accident that when commenting on it on Central Television M. Nenashev failed to note—intentionally, I think—a number of the essential points. For example, he did not say a word about the point of the ukase that discusses the inadmissibility of transforming "state television and radio broadcasting into a means of propaganda for the personal political views of its workers." This point contradicts the Law on the Press and Other Mass Media, which prohibits such discrimination even if the journalist's personal opinion is at odds with the opinion of the leadership of the organ where he works.

The chairman of Gosteleradio spoke of the need to make TV and radio broadcasting popular and admitted the previous dictatorship of the CPSU over it. But, one asks, who kept them from being freed from it immediately after the revocation of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution concerning the leading role of the party? Until quite recently Ligachev was granted time on any program whenever he asked for it, while a correspondent who was recording an interview with the chairman of the Moscow Soviet, G. Popov, was not allowed on the air. The deputy chairman of Gosteleradio, N. Reshetov, personally forbade giving air time to B. Yeltsin right up to the time he was elected chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Therefore, in spite of the fact that the ukase prohibits monopolization of the TV and radio by one or another party, school, or grouping, I doubt that it can be enforced in this situation.

[Rykova] But if not now, at least in the near future will it be possible for TV and radio to become independent?

[Zhetvin] Theoretically, yes. The main thing is that the people who look to TV should not be those who want journalist-robots, but journalist-individuals.

[Rykova] But will the competitive contract system of labor agreements which television and radio broadcasting is adopting not become a new universal mechanism for punishment of undesirables?

[Zhetvin] This danger exists, although the competitive contract system in and of itself is progressive and makes it possible to get rid of nonprofessionals. But in order for it not to become an instrument of pressure on independently thinking journalists, protective mechanisms must be developed. In other words, it must be conditioned by an entire package of various sublegal acts which clearly designate the rights and responsibilities of the two sides.

A week ago M.S. Gorbachev visited the studios in Ostankino and again confirmed the idea that the television journalist should "leave his personal views at home."

American Professor Interviewed on Yeltsin

90UF0380A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 30, 28 Jul-3 Aug 90 p 2

[Report on interview with American Professor Jiri Valenta, head of the Institute of Eastern Europe and the USSR, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent D. Makarov: "Boris Yeltsin Through the Eyes of the Americans"]

[Text] **American Professor Jiri Valenta has headed the Institute of Eastern Europe and the USSR for many years now. He is a frequent guest in our country and in September of last year Boris Yeltsin spent several days as his guest at his home in Miami. ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent D. Makarov and Prof. J. Valenta discusses this visit, along with how changes in the USSR are perceived in the United States.**

[Valenta] Frankly, few American Sovietologists expected that perestroyka and glasnost would go as far as they actually have. They thought that Russians were not sufficiently Europeanized to grasp the ideas of democratization. It was considered axiomatic that the Soviets were incapable of self-rejuvenation and that communism could not allow pluralism of opinions.

Therefore, until recently, the Gorbachev-Yeltsin phenomenon was regarded skeptically in the United States: We did not believe in the very possibility of the appearance of a multipolar political system. I do not consider myself a prophet but I have been studying the Soviet Union for 20 years now, I have been following Yeltsin's career attentively, and I have become convinced that he is a promising politician who stands far out from the others.

Therefore when Boris Nikolayevich came to the United States I organized his trip to Miami (in the state of Florida), where he spent more time than he did in other cities.

[Makarov] In your opinion, how was Yeltsin received in America?

[Valenta] It is difficult to give a simple answer to this question. His speeches drew crowds of listeners who were favorably inclined toward him.

At meetings with students, businessmen, and other ordinary Americans the contact was complete. Keep in mind that Miami is a very conservative city. And to be frank,

the ice of mistrust toward you had not been broken by any perestroyka activist who had visited this city before. Yeltsin was able to do this because he spoke with unusual sincerity, concealing nothing. He was able to convey the essence of the reforms taking place in your country and convince people of socialism's ability to transform itself.

[Makarov] But why did Yeltsin still not always "look his best"?

[Valenta] Mainly, I think, because he tried to do the impossible. His schedule was crammed with meetings, speeches, and numerous trips. Yeltsin's speeches in Miami seemed to me to be the most successful because his schedule was arranged for a person and not a robot. I think his weak points are found in matters of foreign policy, which is quite understandable since he has never dealt with that before. He needed good advisers and it seems to me that your government should help him with this. Whether you like it or not, Yeltsin represented the Soviet Union in America.

At the same time I must say that, however, sad as it may be, a campaign of disinformation and slander against Yeltsin was organized in the press, just as they tried to do in your country. Many American journalists with whom I spoke were convinced that he is a person "with weaknesses." Even serious scholars thought that Yeltsin was a populist seeking easy success and that if he were to come to power in the USSR his rule would inevitably end up in a dictatorship. But they thought the main thing was not to seek out and support any alternative figure like Yeltsin in the USSR because he could undermine the stability of rule and position of Gorbachev, who is solidly on the path of reform and has already proved his reliability as a partner in international affairs.

[Makarov] And what is your prognosis for Yeltsin's political future?

[Valenta] Now, almost a year after his visit to the United States, Yeltsin's image in the eyes of Americans has been cleansed of the mass media's grime. Many of my compatriots and I are convinced that the future of Russia is linked to him.

Moreover, I would not like to compare the two leaders to one another. I am convinced that your country needs both. Yeltsin is important to Gorbachev because without the pressure of opposition, in the person of Yeltsin, the president cannot fully implement all radical reforms. Everything that is taking place now confirms this view. Yeltsin is the antipode not of Gorbachev but of the party nomenklatura.

In the long run, preservation of the Gorbachev-Yeltsin alternatives is a guarantee that the process of democratization in the USSR will not be reversed.

[Makarov] Some of our compatriots are convinced that Yeltsin is a turncoat apparatchik who has ended up opposing those who are just like him.

[Valenta] Both Dubcek and Gorbachev were apparatchiks who were educated in the age of stagnation. There was nowhere for them to grow from except the apparatus; they had to endure the stagnation to arrive at the idea of the need for change. And nobody should reproach them for this. They began with a democratization of themselves, with an analysis of the mistakes of the past, and with a study of the processes of democratization in the West. These are people who are far from dogmatic, who are able to anticipate changes, to change under their influence, and influence the course of events themselves. Yeltsin is one of these people.

[Makarov] What do you think about his withdrawal from the CPSU?

[Valenta] I think it was a very significant event. He has long been insisting on reform within the CPSU and has spoken out in favor of its transformation into a social democratic party, as has happened with the communist parties in Eastern Europe. He did not withdraw from the CPSU until he understood that his efforts in this direction were in vain. Unlike many other CPSU leaders, Yeltsin is well aware that without democratization of the party and the society as a whole, the country can expect a revolution from below.

[Makarov] But it is easier to democratize the party if you remain in its ranks. Along these same lines, do you not think that Yeltsin and others have left the CPSU prematurely?

[Valenta] In spite of the fact that the 28th congress still kept from slipping to the right, which was reflected, for example, in the fact that Ligachev was not elected to the Central Committee, at the same time it did not enter upon a course aimed at radically democratizing the party. Remember the ultra-right-wing criticism to which Yakovlev, Shevardnadze, and Gorbachev himself were subjected. And, after all, they are the initiators of the process of reform in the USSR, the creators of the new thinking. I think that Yeltsin was simply aware of the fruitlessness and uselessness of the struggle to democratize the nomenklatura, which had forgotten nothing and had learned nothing. But the main thing is that the center of power has shifted from the Central Committee to the place where it should be—within democratically elected parliamentary structures.

Everyone suddenly became aware that the Politburo and the party itself had lost their power.

[Makarov] Excuse me, but can one really call the current USSR Supreme Soviet a "democratically elected parliament"? Remember the "red hundred" were 100 deputies actually appointed by the CPSU; remember other deputies elected from the social organizations; and, finally, there is the two-stage process of the elections.

[Valenta] And this is precisely why the USSR Supreme Soviet does not want to and cannot adopt the laws your country really needs. With the election of the Russian parliament the center of power shifted there. Essentially

there has been a bloodless revolution, which is so unusual for Russia, and one of its creators is Boris Yeltsin.

Preparations Begin for Soviet Germans' Congress

PM0208102590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Jul 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "On the Congress of Soviet Germans"]

[Text] A joint session of the Commission for Nationality Policy and Interethnic Relations of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities and the State Commission for Soviet Germans' Problems has taken place.

Guided by the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 28 November 1989 "On Conclusions and Proposals of the Commissions for Soviet Germans' Problems and the Crimean Tatar People's Problems" and in the light of Soviet Germans' desire to participate actively in the resolution of questions of national revival, social and cultural development, and the restoration of their statehood, the session recognized the advisability of holding a congress of Soviet Germans in 1990 in order to form an all-Union association of Soviet Germans and set up its governing bodies.

An organizing committee comprised of 30 members was approved to prepare and conduct the congress. Academician B.V. Raushenbakh was elected chairman of the organizing committee.

Union republic councils of ministers and USSR ministries and departments have been asked to give the organizing committee practical assistance with the congress preparations and to consider and resolve expeditiously questions arising in connection with it.

The session was conducted by V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Commission for Soviet Germans' Problems.

Participating in the session were R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities; Presidential Council Member G.I. Revenko; CPSU Central Committee Secretary A.N. Girenko; and G.S. Tarazevich, chairman of the Commission for Nationality Policy and Interethnic Relations of the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities.

'Greens' Party Constitutent Congress Ends

LD2807202590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Jul 90

[Text] The constituent congress of the federal ecological movement Greens in the USSR completed its work in Moscow today. The aim of the new public organization is to improve the ecological situation in the country. The movement has no political purpose.

Foreign Criminologists Hold News Conference

90UN2443A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jul 90 Morning Edition

[Report by V. Zaykin: "A Window to World Criminology"]

[Text] **On 12 July Soviet, American, and Finnish criminologists gave a joint news conference in the All-Union Science and Criminology Center of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs].**

Until very recently our criminology was rather restricted in its development, as it had no external contacts. It was only in the past year that two leading experts from the All-Union Institute of Forensic Testing could travel to the United States and read reports on Soviet criminology in the Academy of Forensic Science. The West was able to learn that the USSR has some highly qualified experts at its disposal, as well as some original methodologies in various fields of forensic science. It was then also that they planned an extensive program for sharing their experience.

At this time some American and Finnish criminologists, members of the International Identification Association, are ending their two-week stay in our country. With them they will carry some of the methodologies designed in the USSR MVD All-Union Science and Criminology Center. Among them—identification of children kidnapped when they were babies by their ear helixes, determination of the car model by the fragments of its windscreen, establishing the time when a hand-written text was penned or how long ago the shot was made. In turn, our forensic experts are going to borrow the latest American methodologies. They make it possible, for instance, to determine the trajectory of a bullet or the speed of a car when it crashed. And this is just a brief summary of two weeks' work carried out by the Soviet and foreign experts.

Ilya Zeldes, leader of the foreign delegation and head of a major criminological laboratory in the U.S. state of South Dakota, said that criminologists of the United States hold forums annually. The members of the Academy of Forensic Science, the Weapons and Trajectories Research Association, and the Association of Researchers of Questionable Documents—they all share their experience very actively. The time has come for us to catch up with them and to join international scientific cooperation—said the American scientist.

Official Views Use of Video To Fight Crime

90UN2442A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 17 Jul 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Militia Colonel S. Ignatov, department chief at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Academy, by I. Yermakov; place and date of interview not given: "Who Is Holding the Telephone Receiver?"]

[Text] **The USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a law which authorizes law enforcement organs to penetrate the criminal underworld by technical means.**

Militia Colonel S. Ignatov, chief of a department at the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Academy, believes: "We have received a law which is called upon to become a weapon in our fight against corruption. However, I am afraid that it will remain on paper only...."

[Yermakov] Sergey Viktorovich, the right to use videotapes and to monitor telephone conversations has finally been set forth in the law. Judging by international experience, this is not only a powerful way to detect crimes such as bribery and racketeering, but at times one of the few ways. All that remains is to make changes in the legislation, and, perhaps, the results will not be long in coming.

[Ignatov] Do not jump to conclusions. It is not known yet whether all republics will agree with the new law. To be sure, according to the USSR Constitution, Union norms apply on the territories of the republics as well. However, as you know well, reality is frequently different....

[Yermakov] I believe that even if the deputies of a republic begin to hesitate, the success of their neighbors will quickly change their minds....

[Ignatov] In this case, who can give you a guarantee of success? Here is a striking example—from the area of mistakes by others.

On one occasion, the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigations took an interest in where the profits of the gaming industry were going. Were they not going to the mafia? Bureau agents went to Las Vegas. Having monitored the phone conversations of the owners of casinos, they learned many interesting things. However, when the investigation was over and the case was referred to a court, it turned out that the FBI agents should have been... on trial. After all, the permit to tap the phones was issued to them in the capital of the country, but this is forbidden in the State of Nevada, where Las Vegas is located.

Now imagine that a similar situation occurs in our country. For example, officers of the USSR MVD find a group of criminals selling drugs in Moscow and decide to track them.

So, having wrapped up their business in Moscow, the "white death" merchants return to their republic in order to report to their ringleaders on the results and split their take. They go to the phone, dial the number, and inspectors from Moscow... cover their ears. What are they to do? Tapping means violating the law.

[Yermakov] How realistic are your suppositions?

[Ignatov] Let us look at it from the position of a deputy adopting the law. His task is not only to justify the expectations of the electorate but also to reinforce his authority. How? What is popular locally at present? Counteracting the center. Supposedly, we have had enough of hanging on every word of the bosses and executing all instructions without question. They recommend that we adopt additions to our legislation? We are not going to! Our reasons? There is no shortage of arguments. They may be borrowed from any newspaper. We live under the yoke of the command-administrative system anyway. On top of everything, they are going to photograph our every step and record our every word on tape? We will not let them!

After all, a common individual will not believe us until his own experience makes a believer out of him. When it does... for example, try to tell a mother that a hooligan who taunted her daughter in the course of mass disturbances cannot be prosecuted. The poor woman will hardly take into account the fact that the crime was merely registered on a videotape, and that the courts do not recognize such materials to be evidence.

However, those who have been in such situations are not many; there are a handful of them. A majority believe that they will not be affected by this. They are honest people, and they do not rub shoulders with criminals.

We should not even talk about those who are dishonest. It would be naive to think that they will not try to block the new law. We should not forget about the corrupt elements against which this law is leveled. You understand, they are not at all rank-and-file members of our society. They have ample opportunity to exert desirable influence through connections and money.

[Yermakov] Aren't your premonitions too gloomy? After your presentation on the pages of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA ("A Camcorder Instead of a Gun," 28 February, No 49), the editorial office received a multitude of letters. An overwhelming majority agree with you: The law is necessary. I think that the republics will make additions to their legislation, even if not all of them do it right away.

[Ignatov] You say that it will not be right away. Do you know what this delay can bring about in reality? Here is an example which is 10 years old. At the time, the incidence of burglary had increased abruptly. The Supreme Soviet of Georgia decided to add to the article on penalties for this crime. They introduced a new notion of "theft with entering a dwelling," classifying it as an aggravating circumstance, and provided for a stiffer penalty.

This would appear correct. This is also what we thought... until such time as thieves from there rushed to the neighboring republics. They came to particularly like Moscow, where they were in no hurry to change the law either. We should say that our system of crime solving used to be geared to working mainly against "our own," local violators of the law. However, there was an onslaught of "outsiders," and the system failed. Inspectors rushed about but there were no results. By the time

we restructured our efforts, it was too late. "The guests" had acquired connections and settled in.... Later I happened to talk to many of them. What do you think they told me? They thanked me! They said that before they had not had any idea that it was much more convenient "to work" away from home. The catch was greater than at home, while the chances of getting caught were several times smaller. If they did get caught, they had to do much less time.

[Yermakov] Understandably, the law-enforcement organs are now anxiously awaiting the response of local legislators?

[Ignatov] Unfortunately, in this matter as well things are not that simple. After all, there are also representatives of executive power. What do they get more criticism for than anything else? Not for lack of success in the department they are in charge of. For this they may only draw a rebuke. Meanwhile, they are put down mercilessly for the mistakes of their subordinates. Whether you like it or not, this brings up the bureaucratic maxim "he who does nothing does not make mistakes!"

It is no accident that I referred to this because this contradiction conceals the basis for yet another obstacle to the law. After the law is adopted by the Supreme Soviets, procedures are determined by the apparatuses of departments—the Council of Ministers, the Procuracy, the Ministry of Justice, the MVD, and the KGB. They develop all executive acts. This is a real open field for official flights of fancy. After all, the law only sets forth general aspects.

Where is a guarantee that professionally overcautious individuals will not regiment these provisions in such a way that the law will technically exist, but the executor will not be able to make use of it? They are really good at that.

To be sure, the other extreme is possible: The legislators could use a notion which they have not previously defined. Incidentally, the new law is not an exception in this sphere. For example, it includes the revised wording of Article 29 of the Foundations of the Administration of Criminal Justice: "The investigative organs are charged with taking the necessary operational and search measures, including those using videotaping, taking movies and pictures, and sound recording...." However, what do operational and search measures include? Not a word anywhere! What is their essence, what are the limits on using them? All departments do it at their discretion. Incidentally, this situation prompted the USSR MVD Academy to make a proposal not so long ago about the need to immediately prepare the Law on Operational and Search Activities.

[Yermakov] By all indications, problems will also develop in the course of working out a mechanism for protecting the rights of citizens against possible abuses by the law enforcement organs using such equipment. Will the guarantees of Article 56 of our Constitution, which afford legal protection to the private lives of citizens, telephone conversations, and telegraph communications, be curtailed?

[Ignatov] I do not see insurmountable obstacles in this instance. There is nothing to prevent us from using international experience. For example, we may very well proceed from Article 12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Code of Conduct of Officials in Law Enforcement, Leading Guidelines for Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, and other UN documents.

[Yermakov] I will admit that after I have heard all of this I am also less optimistic. I believe that most of our readers will unavoidably ask this question: What is to be done now?

[Ignatov] We should hurry, taking into account the fact that we have ahead of us the growth not only of prices, as the first fruits of transition to a market economy, but also of such types of crime as corruption, bribery, racketeering, and many others, that is, the ones which unavoidably accompany increasing financial inequality....

170 Stalinist Victims Rehabilitated

LD3107205190 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—The plenary meeting of the Soviet Supreme Court has rehabilitated 170 more victims of Stalinist repressions, finding no proofs that "confirm their anti-Soviet activities".

An official report released here today reads the plenary meeting considered objections of the Soviet Supreme Court chairman and the Soviet procurator general on some cases, including those brought against people who were groundlessly subjected to repressions in the 1930's, 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's.

The meeting also examined the case of prisoners of the Salovskaya Prison, shot in September 1941.

The examination revealed that, on September 5, 1941 on the instructions of Beria and his deputy Kobulov, a list of prisoners was compiled and an application to shoot them on the grounds that they were engaged in defeatist agitation was submitted.

On the same day, Stalin signed a resolution of the State Defence Committee to shoot 170 people. Chairman of the Military board of the Soviet Supreme Court Ulrich was instructed to "examine" the case. He engineered a court resolution without instituting proceedings and, more to it, violating all other demands of the criminal rpocedural legislation.

Customs Official Discusses Smuggling Prevention

LD2807220590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 28 July, in its "Vremya" newscast,

carries a two-minute interview conducted by correspondent Bakarinov with Leonid Arkadiyevich Lobzenko, first deputy head of the Main Directorate of the State Customs Control, on the 20 July decision of the Council of Ministers aimed at stopping the smuggling of goods out of the USSR.

Lobzenko rejects as unfounded rumors to the effect that it is planned to close the border and change the customs rules drastically. He says that the situation on the western border has given rise to serious concern. Recently the number of people leaving the country has increased nearly 20-fold, and the border posts were not prepared for this. Almost all problems are concentrated in these tiny posts, he points out.

He gives an example of an incident in Brest, yesterday, when a group of about 700 tourists going by bus to Poland blocked the border post. They were not allowed to cross because they were carrying vacuum cleaners and refrigerators. He says that according to his data, in the last 20 days goods worth nearly R500,000 have been taken out of the country there. He points out that many foreigners entering the country do not have a single ruble.

He says there are two things customs officials can do: One is to prevent people massing on the western borders by means of preventitive measures, such as are now being taken, and the other is to loosen up the situation on the spot, which means to build and modernize the borders posts, which needs to be done as a package, and urgently.

Bakarinov asks: "In other words, people have no need to be frightened by the new decisions? No one is preparing to retreat from the democratic path, no one is preparing to cancel the law about leaving the country? We simply need to prepare for it seriously?

Lobzenko replies: "You are absolutely right. Everything is subjected to one thing: To create the essential conditions for this, and at the same time, prevent the illegal export from the country of items of which there are not enough for the Soviet people."

Trade Unions Request Law on Union Rights

904F0223A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 25 Jul 90 p 1

[TASS report: "On the Rights of Trade Unions"]

[Text] The central committees of Soviet sector trade unions made an urgent request that the country's parliament examine a law on the rights of USSR trade unions at the fall session and adopt it.

The declaration addressed to the USSR Supreme Soviet contains an objection to a draft statewide law "On Public Associations," which was published in the press. If this legal act is passed, a trade union will effectively be equal to political parties, people's fronts, and other civilian formations—this does not correspond to its functions and place in society. The draft bill, which was approved at its first reading, contradicts both state and international practice for trade union movements. On the other hand, in a number of the Union republics laws on trade unions have already been adopted or are being prepared. The council of the RSFSR Federation of Independent Trade Unions has also begun preparing such a document.

The trade union organizations of enterprises and institutions, the declaration states, are asking more and more often why adoption of an all-Union law on the rights of trade unions is taking so long. They are reproaching the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] and the Central Committee of Trade Unions for not having shown sufficient persistence and determination in expediting such an important ruling.

The absence of a statewide legislative act on trade unions deprives their actions to defend the workers' interests of reliable legal guarantees. In the event of adoption of the law on public organizations, the position of trade unions as constructive opponents of state organs will not only become ambiguous but will depend on the latter.

Council of Ministers Plans New Pay Rates

LD2807135290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 28 Jul 90

[Text] We have received a resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers. It refers to moving up the dates for the introduction of new pay structures for culture, health, social security, and public education workers. They will be introduced on 1 January 1991, instead of in 1992-94. Following representations from the interested ministries and departments of the USSR and the council of ministers of union republics, the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems jointly with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions have been instructed to set new wage rates, salaries, and other pay structures for those workers of nonindustrial sectors for whom they have not yet been set, and to also introduce them on 1 January 1991.

New Scientific-Technical Journalist Group Formed

LD2807081790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Text] A new voluntary public organization, the Federation of Industrial, Scientific-Technical, and Professional Magazines and Magazine-type Publications [Federatsiya otraslevykh, nauchno-tekhnicheskikh i professionalnykh zhurnalov i izdanii zhurnalnogo tipa], the FSZh, has been set up under the Union of Journalists of Moscow. The aim of founding it is to unite journalists working in industrial and scientific publications to tackle production, legal, and social problems. The main areas of the federation's work will be to coordinate the activity of the scientific, economic, and industrial press, raise its role in the country's business life, and contribute to the

introduction of the achievements of science and social development into production.

The independent federation will try to give material and legal help to editorial boards in making changes, for example in making the transition to financial autonomy. It is intended to pay a lot of attention to improving the conditions of labor, leisure, and daily life for the workers on the specialist magazine publications, and also for pensioners and invalids who previously worked in these papers. Jointly with the Moscow city executive committee and the State Committee for Science and Technology, the federation will publish a quarterly news and technical bulletin: PROGRESS.

Business Magazine Set Up With U.S. Company

LD0108114690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Excerpts] We are gradually getting used to names and words which used to startle us and which we did not want anything to do with not so long ago. [passage omitted]

A new magazine was set up recently: BIZNES UIK SSSR [USSR BUSINESS WEEK]. This magazine is being published together with the U.S. corporation McGraw Hill and Kniga, a Soviet publishing house. Our correspondent Yakov Belitskiy talked to Viktor Nikolayevich Adamov, the director of the Kniga publishing house. [passage omitted]

Expedition Appeals Nuclear Testing Ground

LD0108191890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 1 Aug 90

[From the "Polar News" program]

[Excerpt] An appeal to the Supreme Soviets of Russia and the USSR has been adopted by the members of the Russian North [Russkiy Sever] expedition. Noting the northerners' hospitality, the appeal says that the Russian north cannot be considered a zone of peace as long as one of the most lethal laboratories, the Novaya Zemlya nuclear testing ground, is located on the territory of Archangel Oblast. The members of the expedition are worried about the absence of reliable information about ecologically dangerous places in the north. [indistinct passage omitted]

Cholera Outbreak Reported in Stavropol Kray

LD2807171490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Cholera has broken out at a tourist camp site in Stavropol. What is the situation like today? Here is a report from our correspondent: [passage omitted]

[Correspondent P. Guskov] Have many people been infected?

[Belyayev] At the moment we have 36 patients. Another 13 are carriers. These are the people who are in Stavropol Kray.

[Guskov] Will a quarantine be imposed on Stavropol?

[Belyayev] At the moment there is absolutely no need for a quarantine to be imposed on the entire city.

45 Cases Diagnosed

LD2907200190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 29 July, in its "Vremya" newscast, carries a two-minute report on the cholera outbreak in Stavropol Kray.

The announcer says that 45 people have been found to be suffering from cholera in the outbreak at the Rodnik campsite in Stavropol Kray. Over 300 people who are thought to have had contact with the cholera sufferers are under medical observation at a temporary isolation unit at the campsite. Over 1,000 people have been examined in Stavropol alone, where intensified supervision of water supply and sewage installations, food enterprises and other vital services has been put in operation. An emergency anti-epidemic commission is operating. The foucs of the infection has been localized, and entry and exit from the town is permitted. It is suspected that the water contamination was due to heavy rains disrupting the water supply mains, the announcer concludes.

Comparison of Gorbachev Decree on Finances

PM3007120090

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 July 1990 carries on page 2 of its second edition the "Decree of the USSR President on Interaction Between Union and Republican Bodies on Financial and Credit Matters During the Preparation of the New Union Treaty." The PRAVDA item has been compared with the the Moscow Domestic Russian version published under the headline "Further on Finance Decree" in the 30 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 34-35, revealing the following variations:

Page 34, column two, eighth complete paragraph, sentence one of PRAVDA begins: [Text] The transition to... (omitting first paragraph)

Same column, final paragraph, first sentence of PRAVDA reads: ...in the country. In a number.... (omitting "it states")

Page 35, column one, penultimate paragraph, last sentence of PRAVDA reads: ...new tax legislation. (PRAVDA ends, omitting final paragraph)

Economic

Gorbachev, Yeltsin Agree To Form Economic Group

PM0108143690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin Have Agreed on the Formation of a Joint Group of Experts on Economic Reform"]

[Text] According to the INTERFAX agency, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, have reached agreement on the formation of an expert group of professional scientists and specialists, with the broad participation of representatives of the Union republics, that is instructed to draft a concept for the transition to a market economy on the scale of the Soviet Union as a whole no later than September when the sessions of the parliaments of both the USSR and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] are due to open.

The group, whose composition is not yet fully known, will base its work in the first instance on the Russian "500 Days" program, taking into account the republics' proposals as well as the experience of the Union government. The group, whose activity will be monitored directly by M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin, already includes in particular N. Petrakov, economic adviser to the USSR president; Academician S. Shatalin, member of the Presidential Council; G. Yavlinskiy, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers who is the author of the "500 Days" program; and Russian Finance Minister B. Fedorov. According to INTERFAX information, the question of directing plenipotentiary representatives of the Union republics to participate in the group's work will be resolved at the level of republic governments.

Abalkin Comments on Drafting New Economic Acts

904A0519A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 27 Jul 90 p 1

[Interview with Academician L. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by V. Badov and A. Nadzharov: "Why a Presidential Edict Was Required"]

[Text] **Preparations for legislative acts on the transition to a regulated market economy are being concluded. RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondents talk about this with Academician L. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.**

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] Leonid Ivanovich, it appears from speeches by the head of the government at the joint meeting of the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation that urgent steps for the transition to market relations will be sanctioned by presidential edicts....

[Abalkin] I believe that this is a basic perception. The Council of Ministers does not intend to bypass legislators. When our parliament summed up the discussion of an administration program for the transition to a market economy before the holiday break, there was already agreement at that time that there was a need to create a legal basis for instituting it. The legal base includes three groups of legislative acts.

Most importantly, these are USSR laws or fundamentals of USSR legislation on basic issues. The government was not given a very long time to prepare them: From August to October we have to introduce a whole package of documents to the parliament. Taking into account the practice and work pace of the parliament, one may surmise that the whole urgent package of laws on the market will not be passed before the end of the year. To enter the market without having a firm legal base would be rash, to put it lightly. Therefore the Supreme Soviet, as it completed its session, decreed that on a number of issues it charges the government with adopting decrees which would permit the beginning of real movement toward market relations. These will be provisional documents. They will function for a few months, perhaps six months, until the Soviet passes the appropriate laws. For example, the Supreme Soviet will be adopting a law on joint-stock companies. The work on it demands a detailed examination in commissions and committees. It is possible that the draft will be offered for country-wide discussion. But in the meantime we have to get on with life. The crisis in the economy demands that decisions be made immediately. Therefore the government has taken the initiative of adopting a decree on joint-stock companies. And as a result, the legal basis for their creation has been established.

Another method of proceeding with legislative regulation is the adoption of presidential edicts on questions which the government is not authorized to decide. This concerns, for example, changes in the structure of economic administrative organs. For the beginning of the fall session of the Supreme Soviet we are preparing a proposal on changes in these structures. In a number of sectors far-reaching changes are taking place on the initiative of the ministries themselves and the labor collectives. There are proposals to create a whole system of large concerns, as a rule, in the form of joint-stock companies. Various sorts of voluntary associations of enterprises will be developed. According to the law no labor collective may be conscripted into the newly created structures.

Differentiation of two formerly combined functions will finally take place: state administration and management. Management is an activity involving economic accountability and enterprise, and it has a goal of working for a market and a consumer and of receiving profits. We have "condoned" enterprise, and it will be regulated by laws and other normative acts. The new independent subjects of management will not be under vertical administrative jurisdiction. For instance, the Norilsk metallurgical plant and a number of other enterprises which have

joined the "Norilsknikel" concern are no longer under the jurisdiction of a ministry. A number of interbranch scientific and technical complexes are functioning on these same principles. All of this demands the introduction of appropriate amendments to the Law on the Council of Ministers and its structure.

But that is not the main point. With the transition to the market, the functions of the economic ministries should change radically. Instead of "vertical" administration there should be agreement on strategy, analysis of the state and capacity of the market, and development of a common scientific and technical policy. In a word, neither the number of ministries nor the number of officials working in them will have principle significance. The main thing will be the content of the functions they fulfill and the environment in which they operate.

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] How long has the government given itself to carry out the transition to a market economy?

[Abalkin] There is no time to spare in taking some large steps in this direction—six months, perhaps less. And the matter is not amenable to the creation of a legal base. We must create an appropriate structure, including a market infrastructure, introduce reliable protective mechanisms, train personnel....

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] What place in this program does the state's withdrawal from property occupy?

[Abalkin] The process of the state's withdrawal from property embraces all stages of the economy. A portion of these issues is under the jurisdiction of the local organs of power, and the government may only give recommendations—and cautious ones at that. Withdrawal of the state should not be the same for all. Here we have the creation of small family enterprises in trade and the service sphere and the sale of stores or workshops which then become the property of individuals. In the countryside there are labor farms—individual or family—and cooperatives. Apparently leaseholders will have the opportunity to lease even middle-sized trade enterprises. All these difficult issues should be decided locally.

We should also commit ourselves to a broad withdrawal of the state from industrial sectors via collective leasing or, which I find more probable, the creation of joint-stock societies. Controlling interest, especially at the beginning stage, may remain with the state because today neither the enterprises, the banks, nor the population have the means to redeem funds worth many billions of rubles. There was a first experience when we transformed the Kama automobile factory into a joint-stock society. Now we are watching it. The first step is the hardest, but life will show us what kind of corrections to make toward the Supreme Soviet's adoption of a law on joint-stock societies. This, incidentally, is one of the benefits of the decrees—the opportunity to study real experience and take it into account when adopting laws.

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] Could you please speak in more detail about the presidential edicts?

[Abalkin] The government has introduced proposals concerning what type of legislative acts should be adopted, including those in the forms of presidential edicts. Representatives of all 15 republic-members of the Council of the Federation have had the opportunity to consider our proposals. Many of the republics have already declared their independence or sovereignty, and it is completely logical for them to adopt some legislative acts themselves. After an examination by the Presidential Council, we established direct contact with the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium which is functioning without a holiday. We agreed that in a week we would come to a final agreement about the whole list of legislative acts that I mentioned earlier.

Rather than continuing to answer your question, I would like to digress for a moment. It seems to me that this will allow us to understand the sources of this or that legislative act. Indeed, they arise as a result of the demands of life and not at all from idle thinking.

We are not the only ones undergoing a process of withdrawing the state. It is also underway in a number of the countries of Eastern Europe, primarily in Poland and Hungary. They took this road before us, and they have come up against great difficulties. For instance, the basic funds of some enterprises had little residual value, and a portion of the equipment was written off. Squandering of state property and its purchase at rock-bottom prices began. It even involved former leaders of enterprise who consciously lowered the cost of the property. In both Poland and Hungary they recognized the danger of this and understood that before undertaking such a sale they needed to have a master—someone who would be the seller and reflect the interests of the state as owner and protect these interests. Evaluation of the cost of property, a procedure for issuing shares, and the conditions for selling them should be regulated without indulgence. In these countries they came to the perfectly apparent conclusion that the purchase and sale of shares could not be entrusted to the leaders of the enterprises themselves. They are interested parties. We should learn from that lesson.

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] Then who will do it? The ministries again?

[Abalkin] In my opinion, withdrawal of the state must not be turned over to the sector ministries either. Departmental interests are a familiar story. That means that there should be an independent institution protecting higher state interests. In my opinion this should be a Fund of State Property—a specially organized institution with a professional staff paid good wages. This department should be accountable to the president or to the Supreme Soviet and should work under full public control.

But who should create this organ? It is needed as soon as possible. The government is not authorized in this case.

Clearly a presidential edict on the creation of a Fund of State Property could be one of the first. I believe that the time has also come to adopt an edict on banking activities which would be a first step on the road to a radical restructuring of the banking and credit system.

[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA] At the meeting of the Presidential Council did they return to the question of prices?

[Abalkin] Any postponement of the issue while making the transition to a market will play a negative role. I must say that as opposed to the preceding discussion, the problem of pricing, which was always a stumbling block, was handled in a constructive spirit. Everyone agreed that in essence there are no alternatives. The emphasis was put on measures to defend the population. There was also talk about the advisability of a special edict on this question—on demarcating the jurisdiction of the Union, republic, and local soviets when deciding questions of pricing. At the same time, we must not act discordantly in this delicate sphere, for instance the price for wine and vodka products.... If it is raised regionally, it will create a basis for the growth of speculation and crime that would be difficult to imagine.

The government is working on an extremely strict schedule. In less than 40 days we must not only pass our own decrees but also prepare draft laws for presidential edicts. We have enlisted for this matter the potential of our economic science and leading specialists and experts from the West. Such a view "from the outside" is not superfluous because we intend to become active members, not observers, of the world economic community.

Of course the absence of a new Union treaty is a factor complicating the resolution of many issues. It would be good to have it as quickly as possible. Then it would be much easier for us to define limits and occupy ourselves with only major issues which are fundamental for the economy of the country.

Abalkin Comments on Economy's Transition

LD0108190190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Good evening! There remains just one month for the government to complete preparation of the necessary documents for the transfer of the Soviet economy onto the conditions of the controlled market. On 1 September the government must present the USSR Supreme Soviet with a package of documents defining the sequence, the stages, and the procedure for the transition.

Naturally many people are asking what kind of document package this is. How is the work on it proceeding? In general what awaits us in the future?

The transition to the market is a new page in our history. It means quite deep cardinal changes in all economic relationships. To put it simply, the changeover to the market means the economy turning around in real terms to face the consumer because under these conditions it is the consumer—whether he be an individual or a collective or an enterprise—who dictates the conditions of production, the requirements in terms of range and quality of output. In the final analysis the consumer also assesses the quality of labor, its results, and its effectiveness.

Clearly the market determines totally new motives for activity. The most difficult problem, perhaps the most complex task that we are now trying to solve, is how can we create these new behavior motivation mechanisms? How can we awaken initiative, the businesslike approach and enterprise?

Finally, only the market—this is proved by the whole of world practice, this is elementary from the viewpoint of the scientific concepts—only the market is capable of putting an end to the shame of lining up, of exterminating speculation, and of halting attempts to get hold of goods via the back door by using retail establishments not open to the general public.

The way toward this goal is not simple; it is a long one. The task now amounts to this: to create all the necessary conditions, the critical mass of conditions—legal, organizational, economic, and psychological too, if you like—for this market to be able to start working and to start working efficiently, if only in its first stage.

Within a very short timescale—I have already said one month—we must prepare not a concept, not a report even of the most lengthy kind, but a working program defined precisely in terms of timescale and the stages and the areas in which we have to move to carry out a transition of this kind and to work out, in today's parlance, a package of laws.

The range of tasks is surprisingly wide. There are prices; there are taxes; there are the banks and the financial establishments; there is the regulation of external economic links and the elementary conditions government the work of the retail trade and the everyday services sector. [as heard] There is the concern to ensure that the normal circulation of the blood in the national economy should not be brought to a standstill during this transitional period while we are restructuring ourselves as we move along, so that industry, agriculture, transport, and power generation work without interruption so that the consumer market receives regular supplies of essential goods. The whole question is this: How is this to be done?

I would like to stress that a number of new and very important elements have recently made their appearance in the work of the government although there is nothing perhaps that is extraordinary here, but it is simply a question of how we organize things to disclose to some extent the mechanics of our work on the documents. To start with, of course, all of this is done by specialists, hundreds of thousands of people, specialists and professionals in their own field who do the working out of these documents. But that is not enough. Bearing in mind the

real changes which are taking place in society and the sociopolitical situation, the government has taken a number of major steps to involve all the country's Union republics in this work.

Now this month of August will be a time of joint work, coordination of positions, and search for compromises to proceed not in division and uncoordination but in harmonious step in this difficult matter.

We are also taking into account the reality of the formation of numerous non-state structures. Various kinds of associations, unions, consortiums have now been created, are being created, and are being born practically every day, uniting the most varied representatives. These are, say, the Scientific-Industrial Union, established comparatively recently; the Association of Directors of State Enterprises; the Association of Young Directors; the Union of Leaseholders and Businessmen; and the Peasants' Union. Now we too are trying...together with them, with their initiative, with their practical experience, with what they feel for themselves, the first steps which are being made in the direction of the market, perhaps they are the first to feel the weak spots in the legislative acts being adopted. We also want to work jointly; now practically every document which is drafted by the government, the Commission for the Economic Reform, is adopted with preliminary discussion, taking into account the various positions. Although I think it is hardly necessary to explain that to achieve complete unanimity, when everyone simply votes for it unanimously, is a past stage of our work. We are seeking a reasonable solution. Somewhere something must be conceded and everyone must understand the maximum implmentation of all requirements is not realistic goal-setting.

Much has been said recently about there being some kind of alternatives. Well, there are very many options. There are as many minds as there are heads. There is a mass of proposals. They are not all alternative ones. Basically the road has been defined. We clearly know, taking into account world practice and the conclusions of science, that there is a high road that is only capable of bringing our country out of the stagnation and the profound crisis, and is capable of creating—however distant that might be in the present difficult conditions—a prosperous economy, highly efficient and orientated toward the individual, humane in its goals, and flexible and receptive toward scientific-technical transformations. This road does exist, and we have embarked on this road and will firmly pursue it. But there are options, there are clarifications, there is adjustment, there are real alternatives on individual specific questions.

We have decided to open the way for all these proposals. A decision was recently adopted to create a commission—a non-governmental one, an independent one—composed of independent scientists, experts, and workers of various sectors of the national economy so they might take a look and give their conclusions and submit their ideas to the government. They too have little time. By 15 August an analysis of the alternative options should be completed and a report presented to the government. So we will be left with two weeks for a final processing of the materials because we are already obliged by 1 September to give the Supreme Soviet our conclusions, the government's conclusions on the alternative option.

Another thing: We are broadly involving in an assessment of our legislative acts Western specialists and experts at a very high level, professionals. They give their conclusions on the subject of the extent to which our legislation is in accordance with the accepted measures of international law, the practice which has been accumulated in those countries not in two or three years but in decades. This makes it possible to hope that we will be able to propose a very serious, sufficently well-thought, realistic, and well-considered program of transition to the market.

What else is of concern? One is concerned of course by the influence of these new conditions on the situation of various social groups, measures of social protection. Now the government is completing the drafting of a program. This is not a single, once-only measure; not a partial solution. It is a whole set of measures concerning a guaranteed social minimum for all the inhabitants of the country. Those who live in a socialist state have the right to count on social protection. There are differentiated conditions concerning individual groups, the underprivileged families, families with many children, pensioners, the disabled.

There are also young students who... [changes thought] each of these groups requires special social welfare provisions.

There is also the very difficult problem of providing employment, full and efficient employment, also taking into account alternative structures—state, co-operative, non-state, leasehold, joint-stock forms—and the creation of individual businesses. This is a package of measures to provide employment, including centers for professional re-training of staff in the area of modern specialities, and the creation of new jobs in the service sphere.

The last thing I should like to talk about today, perhaps, is another worrying problem: namely the lack of preparedness of society, of many social strata, and in general the lack of basic literacy in regard not only to economic matters but also regarding the market. We are therefore trying, while dealing with other purely economic and legal measures, all of which are very important, not to omit this aspect of the matter. Though this work is perhaps in need of improvement, we cannot yet be satisfied with the way it is going. We are now developing a whole program of measures, too, to explain to people the meaning of the market; what people are allowed to do in these new economic structures; the possible consequences; and what social welfare measures can be counted upon.

We have already organized a series of regular programs dealing with the market economy on all-Union radio, on the Mayak program: 12 such programs have already been broadcast. This series of programs has started—though television could do a great deal more to explain and educate people in the new conditions of work—to familiarize people with the new documents and with the practice in other countries which embarked on this road before us. A number of our mass publications have become actively involved in this work, such as the EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN weekly which regularly publishes a cycle of pieces on the problems of the market and which publishes all the major government documents. RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA is doing active work in this regard, too. We are also counting on the backing of other mass information media.

All this also comes within the purview of our concerns and our everyday attention. Something very important for the government, I think, is permanent feedback. We receive very many letters and a great deal of information about attitudes toward our proposals: A significant proportion of these comments are critical, but there is a great deal that is simply useful and that we rely on in our work.

Of course, not everything is resolved at the Union government level. We have, after all, embarked upon the road of real democratization and decentralization. A large number of functions starting with trade, public catering, the sphere of the agro-industrial complex, and construction and housing and industry, have already passed into the jurisdiction of the Union republics and of the oblast, town, and rayon soviets of people's deputies, and therefore success will also depend upon this joint work. The more clearly we understand this, I think, and the better coordinated our actions are in this direction, the more successfully we shall finish drawing up the program for a transition to the market economy, and the more successfully it will be implemented.

Pavlov Views Reform Mistakes, Price Policy

904A016A Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Jul 90 p 2

[Interview with USSR Finance Minister V. Pavlov by TRUD political commentator V. Golovachev; place and date not given: "What Is to Be Done About Prices?"]

[Text] **Our economy is seriously ill. The consumer market is falling apart before our eyes. Shortages have become all-encompassing. The financial assets of the country which are the foundation of the economy give rise to special concern. The ruble [R] has been losing its value. Printing presses have been producing more and more millions of rubles which are not backed up by goods. What are the reasons for this rapid disintegration? How has it come to this? Where is a way out? With these questions I approached V.S. Pavlov, doctor of economic sciences, someone I have known for a long time and have valued for being unconventional and bold in his judgments (though I do not necessarily agree with him), someone who knows well, so to say, different "cross-sections" of our economy because he has worked in the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] and the State Committee for Prices. Currently, he is the USSR minister of finance and a member of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium.**

[Golovachev] Valentin Sergeyevich, in your opinion when did the first signs of an economic crisis appear?

[Pavlov] In the early and mid-1970's. The economic crisis became a consequence of political doctrines lacking vitality and of the serious mistakes of the political leadership of the period. It was exactly at this time that the entire world embarked on an abrupt turnaround in principle in the economy, setting the course for the extensive use of the accomplishments of scientific-technical revolution. This was reflected in profound changes in economic and political strategies. On the one hand, there were extensive processes of the integration of countries, for example in the European Economic Community; on the other hand, the development of small businesses which were quite flexible and receptive to technical progress occurred. Meanwhile, we continued to live in our enclosed space, safeguarding the sacred dogmas of leveling, developing antediluvian barter, and increasingly falling behind the times. Among other things, the low productivity of social labor and the lack of incentives for securing great results testified to the inefficiency of the system....

[Golovachev] I have heard many times that this supposedly is our national scourge: Our people do not know how to work....

[Pavlov] No. The people worked as they ought to; there was no dearth of talent; the failure resulted from political decisions. After all it is possible, for example, to vigorously dig a trench with a shovel—a man would sweat profusely, but would advance only 10 meters a day. Now compare the above with this: An excavator easily digs several kilometers a day. The national-economic efficiency of labor is different. This is what it is about.

Unfortunately, the intensiveness of labor is quite high in our country while its efficiency is quite low. Previously we have not discussed this officially, but I do not think that this needs to be concealed any longer: The rate of exploitation in our country is much higher than in developed states. There is this notion in the economy of the rate of paid and unpaid labor. So our worker gets paid for less than one-half of his labor. This, however, is not all. The funds received as wages buy slightly more than one-half of what a person consumes, and then quite frequently not in free trade and not with a selection of goods available. The other half goes through the channels of distribution. Therefore, we may say that only one-half of the labor of a worker is paid for directly. This clearly contradicts the main principle of socialism: "To each according to his labor."

In a word, if we compare the rate of exploitation in our country and in developed countries—taking into account payments from social consumption funds, free

education, health care, and so on—our rate of exploitation is approximately two times higher. This is why the rate of growth of the productivity of social labor has been falling. What I would call saturation point has been reached. After all, a worker must restore himself continuously; however, he is frequently not in a position to do this completely even now (compare life expectancies in our country and in developed countries). I hope it is now clear why augmenting labor productivity is impossible under the circumstances. Nothing will work in this instance, even if you coerce people or threaten them.

I understand that the above reasoning may very well be used by those who seek still new arguments in favor of organizing strikes. However, I believe that workers will understand the situation correctly. Indeed, the rate of paid labor is low in our country, but a strike will not help in this instance either: After all, there is almost nothing to distribute by now, the money is increasingly "hollow." The rate is low because labor is inefficient. The way out is not through strikes but through the scientific-technical revolution....

[Golovachev] Could it be that at the time nobody saw us rolling downhill?

[Pavlov] What do you mean by "nobody saw...?" Despite the fact that economic science attempted to justify and "bolster" the policy pursued at the time, there were many specialists who advocated changing it and implementing curative measures. Specific proposals were developed for a "curative" five-year plan, initially for 1975-1980 and subsequently for 1980-1985. I happened to participate in discussing these issues with both A.N. Kosygin and N.K. Baybakov.... However, neither of them could break through a bureaucratic wall. Proposals and memorandums went to the Central Committee of the party and quietly perished there. It is known that A.N. Kosygin tried to convince L.I. Brezhnev that changes were necessary; however, this only caused the dissatisfaction of the then general secretary.

[Golovachev] Have we succeeded in fully implementing these ideas in at least the current five-year plan?

[Pavlov] Not fully. In 1985 the illusion still lingered that it would suffice to reinforce discipline, increase the volume of capital investment, push harder in some instances, give more in others, and a dash would be ensured. This is when the slogan of "acceleration" appeared. However, as early as 1987 it became clear that other, more profound changes were necessary, such as structural reforms and a transition to altogether different economic principles. It was necessary to scrap the five-year plan at least at that time, in 1987, but unfortunately this was not agreed to. A big mistake was made and two years were lost. In general, this is what the situation was: They tried to implant in the national-economic complex "particles" of a new economic mechanism, for example various models of economic accountability. However, all of these elements were rejected and died because foreign bodies could not be accepted by the old system. We may only overcome the crisis by changing the entire economic system, if the relations of ownership change, if it is not just one or several wise men "at the top" who govern the economy but every man wittingly or unwittingly takes part in it. This is what a market is about, and at present there is no alternative to it.

[Golovachev] Still, I would like to dwell some more on mistakes which were made as late as our period of perestroyka. A tremendous stream of money "not backed up by goods" and striking imbalances in our plans—how could all of this happen?

[Pavlov] This is one of our mistakes which has to be paid for. This is what the essence is. As I said, they decided not to scrap the five-year plan. However, on the other hand they proclaimed the policy of the independence of enterprises, more vigorous resolution of social issues, and development of housing construction by the enterprises themselves with the funds generated by them. This is what really happened: Considerable funds were left to enterprises, but centralized investment funds were also retained (after all, the plan remained in effect). As a result, the volume of capital investment increased by a factor of 1.5, while of course there were no material resources—construction materials and so on—in our country in such quantities. This is how serious imbalances developed. As a result, there was a complete failure in all sectors of capital construction. In 1980, unfinished construction projects in the national economy were estimated to be worth R120 billion rubles, and last year as much as 180.

In addition to tying up funds and valuable resources, construction personnel were paid an extra R12 billion in wages. Meanwhile, no goods were created.

There are tens of billions of rubles in residuals not spent at the disposal of enterprises. This is a huge amount! Nothing like this has happened before. In the environment of extensive economic independence, it is not all that difficult to transfer a sizable part of this money from its non-cash form into cash.

However, target-oriented funds were allocated for specific large construction projects in addition to this. It was very difficult to influence these processes until very recently. Parallel managerial structures of sorts were in operation. Here is one chain: an enterprise—a ministry—a branch department of the Gosplan—a deputy chairman of the Gosplan—a branch department of the Council of Ministers—a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers—a branch department of the CPSU Central Committee—a CPSU Central Committee secretary. Here is the other chain: a rayon—an oblast executive committee—an oblast committee of the party—the CPSU Central Committee. Frequently, these structures did not intersect even in the CPSU Central Committee. The Council of Ministers often received decisions already made by the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat for execution....

By now this practice has been finally brought to an end, literally very recently. However we have no time left either. We should draw serious conclusions from our mistakes and work out a clear-cut mechanism of transition to new economic relations. The government is working on this.

[Golovachev] Is it true that, speaking in the Presidential Council, you came out against beginning a transition to market relations by raising retail prices sharply as early as this year?

[Pavlov] Actually, I used to think that discussions in the Presidential Council do not leave the confines of this council.... However, I do not consider this much of a secret. Indeed, I believed and do believe that we cannot begin our transition to a market economy by merely raising retail prices. In general, nobody has proposed this because this merely serves to discredit the idea and causes social tensions and the massive dissatisfaction of the populace. There are other, more acceptable ways. However, in principle it is impossible to switch to a market economy without a reform of price setting, including a revision of retail prices. However, the program of transition itself failed to include discussion of measures for preliminary preparations for the market and for other avenues; the mechanism of social protection, the renunciation of directive-driven planning, and other points were not elucidated. This is how prices remained on the surface.

[Golovachev] What do you propose?

[Pavlov] To change in a centralized manner wholesale and procurement prices and price-setting while leaving untouched for now the main retail prices which primarily apply to foodstuffs and a number of consumer staples. In the process, subsidies should be established by the organs of soviet power in every autonomous republic, kray, oblast, and city reporting to the Union or the republic in line with the funds available to them. If a region performs better it has more funds, and consequently prices in the shops are lower. Different prices for the same foodstuffs and goods may exist in different cities. So what? After all, remunerations for labor also differ.

It may very well happen that local authorities will temporarily introduce, for example, ration cards for the necessary minimum of goods—especially for low-income families—as a measure of social protection. This is for the local authorities to decide; this depends on the standard of economic efficiency of the performance of enterprises in the region.

Here is one more important remark. Subsidies should be provided to trade rather than the producers of goods. For example, a trade establishment buys meat from kolkhozes [collective farms] or farmers at R5-6 a kilogram and then sells it in the stores at R2 a kilogram. So once the meat has been sold the R3 in subsidies should be transferred to the store—I stress, only after it has been sold. Therefore, it will be economically disadvantageous to let the meat spoil and write it off. We cannot subsidize losses and theft as is the case now.

Contract prices will be used more commonly as we move toward a market economy and as competition develops. However, the powerful "shock absorbers" of social protection should kick in even sooner in anticipation of this. In this instance, I agree with the demands of the trade unions.

[Golovachev] They say that yet another price increase was to take place as early as under L.I. Brezhnev.

[Pavlov] In the fall of 1982, L.I. Brezhnev indeed signed a document on increasing the prices of bread, sugar, vegetable oil, and a number of other goods. New price lists were distributed to localities. Strict secrecy was maintained in order to avoid panic and prevent the buying of products in inordinate quantities. Just a little time remained until the introduction of the new prices, about two weeks. However, L.I. Brezhnev died and Yu.V. Andropov did not want to begin his work in the post of general secretary by increasing prices, believing that he would not succeed in persuading the people that the document was signed by the previous leadership. Yu.V. Andropov canceled the previously made decision.

[Golovachev] I was told that you came out against increasing vodka prices in particular.

[Pavlov] Yes, I believe that this cannot be done by any means.

[Golovachev] It is strange to hear the minister of finance say this. After all, proceeds from the sale of vodka contribute to the budget considerably.

[Pavlov] However subsequent price increases will only bring about an increase in moonshine production, and the budget will lose rather than win. In a word, as I see it, the issue of prices has not been considered thoroughly. This is to say nothing about the fact that incomplete compensation for the price increases is planned. It is proposed to direct more than R50 billion to the budget if the decision on prices is adopted. As I see it, this will not work and I disagree with this. To be sure, the budget needs this money badly, but not at this price! It is important to have prices at which increasing production and reducing costs will result in profits for our society and the treasury rather than in losses as is the case at present.

[Golovachev] Will your remarks be taken into account in the course of additional work on the concept of our transition to a market economy?

[Pavlov] The proposals of the Ministry of Finance are known. We will see....

[Golovachev] In your opinion how should the deposits of the populace in the Savings Bank be protected if a

decision on a one-time price increase is made nonetheless? Or will everything that the people have earned through honest labor be devalued by a factor of two or three right away?

[Pavlov] This issue is being worked on at present. However, I think that it is necessary to revise upward the amount of deposits as well in the course of the one-time price increase, say on a graduated scale. Let us say that deposits of up to R1,000 should be increased by the same rate as that of the price increases on the average, deposits ranging between R1,000 and R3,000 should increase at a smaller rate, and so on. This will reinforce the confidence in the Savings Bank and the state still more.

[Golovachev] Incidentally, there have been proposals to freeze deposits. What do you think about them?

[Pavlov] There is nothing more harmful than such discourses. I may say firmly that this cannot be done by any means. To the contrary, in order to attract depositors it is necessary to increase the interest rate, say to five percent on passbook accounts, seven percent on certificates of deposit, and perhaps even 10 percent on long-term certificates of deposit. Everything should hinge on the time for which you lend your money to the state and the terms on which you do it.

[Golovachev] As proposed by the government, the USSR Supreme Soviet confirmed the emission of currency—that is to say, the issuance of additional bills which are not backed up by goods—in the amount of R10 billion for this year. It looks like this limit as well will be exceeded.

[Pavlov] Yes. According to preliminary data, emission amounted to R10 billion in the first half of the year alone.

Summing up our discussion, I would like to say that the financial situation of our country is very difficult but not catastrophic. For example, we succeeded in reducing the state budget deficit to R24 billion in the first half of this year; quite recently the deficit amounted to R120 billion. Much will depend on which economic program the USSR Supreme Soviet adopts at the fall session....

Rail Blockade, Rolling Stock Problems Viewed

PM0108105590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Jul 90

[Report by A. Kozhukhova from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The USSR Ministry of Railways told us today that as of 1100 hours 26 July informals halted the movement of trains at Samtredia station on the Transcaucasus Railroad. Last night at this same station a group of people infiltrated the traffic control center and forced the train dispatchers to leave their workplaces. Owing to the cessation of railroad traffic approximately 30 passenger trains carrying 25,000 people have already been held up. Steps are being taken to remove some of the passengers by bus. Where possible, food and medical services have been organized. Some passenger trains have been diverted from Adler to Baku and then on to Georgia. Roughly 100 freightcars carrying economic freight have been held up on the Transcaucasus Railroad as a result. Roughly the same number have been held up on the North Caucasus and Azerbaijan Railroads. Food will be delivered by a roundabout route via Baku and Tbilisi to consignees served by the Samtredia section of the Transcaucasus Railroad. If the aim of this action is to influence the republic's Supreme Soviet in order, as has been announced, to speed up the creation of new parties, perhaps other means of resolving the problem could be found rather than paralyzing railroad traffic. Our railroads are not up to this—they are working extremely strenuously as it is. They have countless grievances and worries. Everything ranging from coaches to everything else is a problem.

[Kozhukhova] [video shows damaged railroad coaches] This is the unsightly way in which examples of rolling stock arrive at Moscow's Vaytovich Coach Repair Plant after service for restoration. You cannot count the defects. Patch upon patch. Workers and foremen have lost heart.

[N.N. Tolstykh, deputy production chief] These coaches in their current state at the plant are in principle irreparable. A qualified commission established this as fact long ago. In principle dangerous coaches are currently transporting people, even after our repairs. We cannot guarantee, we cannot now at this moment guarantee that the coaches will be completely restored. But as for the fact that the coaches' physical state is unsatisfactory, there are still no spare parts. As a rule we get them from abroad. Now, in connection with recent decisions, it has become very difficult to obtain parts from the GDR, we have not been obtaining parts from Hungary for a long time now, but coaches originating from there are still in circulation on our railroads.

[Unidentified voice off camera] What is the solution to the problem?

[Tolstykh] I see only one solution. These coaches be restored. We need new coaches.

[Kozhukhova] You will agree that repair workers are just performing miracles by restoring equipment of this kind. [video shows workers repairing coaches] Especially since there is a very acute shortage of coaches. But manpower expenditure on restoration is almost 30 percent higher than on the construction of new coaches. That is, this is clearly unprofitable for the state. Railroad workers consider that this problem can only be resolved by creating new production units and joint enterprises and by converting existing enterprises. Note that the modernization of this ancient Moscow plant overran its construction schedule.

Examples of Defense Sector Conversion Reported

PM0208110990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Report by M. Solntsev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A exhibition devoted to conversion of the technologies used in the production of the Energiya and Buran systems within the national economy opened in Moscow today. I would remind you that although military conversion has made it possible over the last few years to increase production of equipment by 1.5 to 2 times for agriculture, light industry, and trade, there is still no law on conversion. No mechanisms for the transition to nonmilitary output have been worked out. This has a substantial effect above all on the prices that we, the purchasers, see.

[Solntsev] [video shows sign reading "Conversion of Technologies"] Top-secret computer programs and technologies are today on open exhibition at the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. The exhibition for Soviet and foreign specialists takes two directions. First, it shows the fundamentally new level of this technology, and second, it demonstrates the actual results of the conversion of missile-space technology which will make it possible shortly to create high-quality goods for the people. The following question was raised on several occasions: Isn't the fascination with developing space systems too costly, and what do they provide the national economy?

[Video shows Solntsev conducting an interview] The exhibits here are totally incomprehensible to the ordinary person, say, who is not a specialist. What benefit will they bring to the ordinary Soviet consumers? [video shows Solntsev pointing to missile cones]

[V.A. Isachenko, general director of the Tekhnomash Science-and-Production Association] These containers are now being used extensively in the food industry as utensils for, say, mixing dough, meat, or stuffing. These utensils are unfortunately welded at the moment. This technology—so-called rotary lamination—which has been tested on missiles is bringing a large amount of revenue from extensive introduction within the national economy and abroad. We are setting ourselves the task of investing a considerable proportion of this income—according to our calculations roughly one-third of the income—in further fundamental exploratory work.

[Solntsev] [video shows mannequins on catwalk] The presence of mannequins demonstrating clothing made from fabrics produced by the Tekhnomash Science-and-Production Association fabrics, according to general director Isachenko, is also the result of conversion.

Norwegian-Built Catamaran Joins Far East Service

PM3107091390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Reporter] The Far East passenger fleet has received a new vessel of original design—the catamaran Merkuriy. [video shows shots of equipment on bridge] Built to Soviet order in Norway, the catamaran is equipped with state-of-the-art navigation equipment. A lever on the armrest of the captain's chair acts as the wheel. Television equipment helps the charthouse to monitor any part of the deck. The new diesel vessel will partially replace slower ships on passenger routes along the coast of Maritime Kray.

Agricultural

Ryzhkov Conducts Two-Day Tour of Harvest Areas

LD0108211290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov visited Saratov Oblast and Kazakhstan from 31 July to 1 August. Answering a question about the goals of is trip he said that he was not going to clear some bottlenecks as an emergency job, far from it. He simply wanted to see for himself what was in the fields, not to cast a glance on the harvest from the Moscow study but to calmly look into the problems that had arisen.

His trip, or to be more precise helicopter landings on state and collective farms, started directly from the Volga steppe fields where harvesting was underway. The harvest seems unprecedented. Specialists estimate that it can exceed the record yeild gathered in 1973. Rural toilers spoke at a meeting about the factors hampering the pace of harvesting. The chairman of the Council of Ministers inquired in detail about all the subtleties of grain procurement, while in the process engaging one or another minister in Moscow for solving urgent questions.

The situation with Kazakhstan's cornfields was examined intently, too. Many meetings took place here, and everywhere attention was focused on radical economic reform. Familiarizing people with the government's intentions, Comrade Ryzhkov particularly stressed the importance of the measures guaranteeing social protection for various strata of the population. The issues of land reform; the development of leasing, contracting, farming; and a variety of forms of ownership were raised in conversations.

In an interview with TASS correspondents which Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov gave at the end of his trip, he said: The problem of harvesting the crop looms large now and should be solved jointly. The countryside will not be able to cope on its own. Without resolute measures the harvest will perish. There is a view to the effect that in the conditions of financial autonomy people may not be sent to help with bringing in the harvest. I think that with financial autonomy relations, too, a solution can be found at factories in order to awaken people's interest.

Comrade Ryzhkov stressed that if the countryside is left to cope with harvesting along, the town will be the first to suffer. Seasonal work always has been and always will be there, he said. And all people, regardless of their places of residence and work, should take part in it.

Discusses Visit to Saratov

LD0108211190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Report by correspondent Oleg Shommer from Saratov Oblast, including Shommer's interview there with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on 1 August—recorded]

[Text] As reported, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, is on a visit to Saratov Oblast. Our correspondent Oleg Shommer reports:

[Shommer] And once again the trans-Volga area. If yesterday Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov visited farms situated in the arid steppe, today he visited Engels Rayon on the River Volga. Then Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov visited the main farmstead of the Pobeda collective farm; familiarized himself with living, labor, and everyday conditions; and looked around individually built cottages with outbuildings and plots.

While on a visit to the Rodina collective farm, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov talked to machine operators and specialists in Balashov Rayon about how to preserve the harvest and introduce new progressive forms of the labor organization. Here, he gave an interview to All-Union Radio.

So, Nikolay Ivanovich, your two-day visit to Saratov Oblast is drawing to a close. Can you tell us about its main results?

[Ryzhkov] I am very pleased that I have managed to get out of Moscow for the two days to see for myself how crops are now being harvested and what issues are arising here in this connection. My conclusion is this: The population as a whole are in very good spirits. As I said yesterday, people are pleased with the harvest, their morale is high, and this makes everyone very happy. Of course very many issues must be addressed. My conclusion is that we must resolve several questions that at present are having an adverse effect on the harvesting of the crops; First, there is a lagging behind in the harvesting of fruit and vegetables. Several regions of the country are short of vegetables today. At the same time you can see how good are the existing vegetable plantations. They need to be harvested now and the crops must be transported. It is necessary to involve city-dwellers; it will not be possible to do so without this measure. Everyone must be involved. Tomorrow I will be considering these issues in the government. We will be asking students to get involved so they can give a hand to the rural areas. We will be asking all labor collectives to help the countryside now. After all, this affects all of us.

[Shommer] For the present, unfortunately, mutually advantageous relations of partnership between the town and countryside still are not working, and here Nikolay Ivanovich, there is no getting away from it: command-administrative methods continue to operate. No doubt you do not get anywhere without them these days, although economic incentives also are used. What should be the balance between them in your view?

[Ryzhkov] On this question, as on others, the situation arising here is as follows: One set of methods has disappeared, but the other methods have not yet been properly worked out. In the past everything was based on the command system. It decided how many people must be sent, whereas how many are to arrive or how much harvest is to be cleared away was none of its concern. Now this system is disappearing and it is clear that it will not return. At the same time, however, the new economic system has not been worked out properly. I think our task is to find mutually beneficial conditions. When we find them, all will fall into its rightful place.

[Shommer] Nikoklay Ivanovich, to continue the interview you gave yesterday: You said that the market, market relations, mean first and foremost a change in the psychology of people, in their world outlook. Are you finding confirmation of this during your current visit to Saratov Oblast following your meetings with people, machine operators, collective farmers, and state farm workers?

[Ryzhkov] You know, every hour I am becoming ever more convinced that we are moving in the right direction. Even today's meeting with the collective farm chairmen, state farm directors, team leaders, and machine operators shows that these are now completely different people.

[Shommer] What will be....[changes thought] Will decisions be made following your visit to Saratov Oblast?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, we will think over all the questions that have arisen during this trip. Already we have scheduled a government meeting for tomorrow at 1100 [0700 GMT]. Tomorrow we will have a talk with sector leaders and discuss a number of issues, above all the work of the railroads and the material and technical supply of the rural area. Of course, tomorrow we will be insistently raising the question of involving labor collectives in the harvesting of crops, and of fruit and vegetables above all. This harvest must not be abandoned.

[Shommer] Also today, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov visited the Saratov aviation works. He met its collective, the first in the industry to undergo the new economic experiment geared to creating a so-called collective enterprise.

Comments on Saratov Harvest

LD0108220990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Report from Saratov Oblast by correspondent S. Medvedev, including recorded interview with Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov today continued to acquaint himself with the state of affairs in the agro-industrial complex of Saratov Oblast.

[Medvedev] In the Pobeda collective farm, the Engelskiy fruit and vegetable state farm, and the Khoper agro-industrial combine which Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov visited today, people said that they might not be able to count on eight helpers out of every ten expected from the town. It is not so easy to get hold of them for the countryside from organizations that have become independent, even by contract. And resources are inadequate for bringing in the harvest unaided. [video shows Ryzhkov touring fields and talking to the men accompanying him; then Medvedev interviewing Ryzhkov in a field]

[Medvedev] The harvesting of vegetables is proceeding with difficulty and people here have said that, first and foremost, the main reason is that there is no help from the town.

[Ryzhkov] I think that the position is very complicated, very complicated. If additional measures are not taken now to see that people are sent here to assist the harvesting and transporting, we shall find ourselves in a position in which some 25 to 30 percent of the vegetables remain in the fields. A splendid harvest has been grown: both tomatoes and cucumbers—the cucumbers are worse than the tomatoes—and the onions are coming along nicely, but the harvesting is very weak. So....

[Medvedev, interrupting] The point is that you can't take a stick to people any more to force them to come, as previously....

[Ryzhkov] Yes. Of course, now....

[Medvedev, interrupting] ...by order, if one can put it like that.

[Ryzhikov] Yes. Adopting a simple approach—let's send some people in, as it used to be said—is now very difficult. But at the same time I think that there is a possibility that people might come, with some economic incentive. Second, as I'm being told by the farm leaders and team leaders I met today, they say that we are creating economic conditions: A person comes along; he gathers vegetables for himself and takes them away at lower prices. And of course, as a result, everything remains for people, for the people's table. So we think that, in accordance with today's trip, we need of course to take certain measures so as to rectify precisely the situation here. Tomorrow we shall invite the leaders of sectors, and it is necessary to work out measures so that there is an economic incentive and, at the same time, so that we do not leave the countryside without people. I think that such a turn has to be made.

[Medvedev] Isn't it too late to tackle that question now?

[Ryzhkov] No. No, it isn't late. Of course it has to be tackled literally within a matter of days so that we don't waste August and September. And there are many other questions. There are many transport questions. You and I have just landed at the airstrip of the military transport aviation. They can help, of course, with moving the vegetables up to the northern areas of our country.

[Medvedev] And there's probably the processing, of course. We've heard that that issue was raised very sharply in the conversations.

[Ryzhkov] Processing is lagging very much behind. I think that primarily the Russian Federation, as well as the Union as a whole, needs to thoroughly work through all the issues connected with processing. This includes matters relating to the processing of oil-yielding crops. We are producing more and more grain and are lagging behind with the processing. Our old harvest is actually still lying around now.

We shall be meeting you shortly at the aircraft factory. There will be a conversation on precisely that topic. I think that our defense complex, which was obliged to pick up the feeble minstries that engaged in the production of machinery for the food industry, is now of course developing that kind of work but at a very weak level. And the scale that the production of machinery has today assumed does not satisfy us at all. We must look at those questions tomorrow in the government. We have already planned a government session for 1100 tomorrow to consider all those questions and take appropriate decisions. [video now shows Ryzhkov on tour, talking to people in the street]

[Medvedev, to camera] The opportunity to talk just like that to the prime minister, directly, clearly does not come up every day. So people asked about that too, of course. Trivial matters it would seem. Cigarettes have vanished from shop counters. So when will they reappear? The answer is encouraging. All tobacco factories will resume work this month. As for the housing problem, there's no need to talk about its acuteness. The village of Generalskoye, the nucleus of the Pobeda collective farm, is as it were the Saratov version of the solution. Cottages with all amenities have been built for peasant families and farm plots have been set aside for them. There are buildings for them in the farmyards. [video shows houses in an urban-type setting, photographed from a moving car]

In the afternoon, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov visited the Saratov aircraft factory. [video shows Ryzhkov and those accompanying him walking across a runway on which an aircraft is standing]

Agricultural Developments for 26-30 July

LD0208071590

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 12-17 May, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parenthesis at the end of each item.

26 July

More than 7 million tons of coarse and succulent feed crops have been procurred in the Ukraine. The year's haylage needs have already been laid in as well as more than half the required hay. Frequent rain is hampering work. (1100)

In Dzhambul Oblast 300,000 tonnes of grain have reached reception centers thus far; much of this is strong and hard wheats. (Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian at 1400 GMT)

Many areas of the Soviet Union have taken in bumper crops of cereal crops; the overall yield is expected to reach between 210-230 million tons. However, leaders in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) are unhappy with the progress of harvesting; Russian villages are facing a grave labor shortage, and farming enterprises are offering large salaries to urban dwellers who help with the harvest. (Moscow World Service in English at 1500 GMT)

27 July

The harvesting of grain in the RSFSR has started somewhat later than usual. In the RSFSR as a whole the yield is at the level of 37 quintals per hectare. Threshing of grain crops is already drawing to a close in the Northern Caucasus where winter crops are yielding an average of 41 quintals per hectare. In Krasnodar Kray the average yield is over 53 quintals per hecatare. (0330)

Farms in Kuybyshev Oblast have harvested grain from 170,000 hectares, slightly over one tenth of the area sown. However, storage problems are already arising. Enterprises of the Kuybyshevkhleboprodukty have turned out ot be a weak link in the current harvest campaign. Poorly organized receipt and storage of grain at elevators is leading to long lines of trucks—already in short supply—waiting to be unloaded. (0400)

A critical situation is developing in the fields of Moscow Oblast. Lev Yeygin, head of a department of Moscow Oblast's Agroindustrial Committee, does not exclude the possibility that in September part of the harvest may have to be plowed under since there is no one to harvest it. (Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1130 GMT)

28 July

Reception centers in the Ukraine have already received more than 9 million tonnes of grain. This is more than half the state order; three-quarters of this grain is strong or valuable varieties. (0330)

Stavropol farmers have overfulfilled the yearly order for grain by 100,000 tonnes. Almost all of the grain is strong and valuable wheat. (0800)

Farms in Volgograd have sold their one millionth tonne of grain. The contribution of grain farmers in southern areas and around the Volga is significant. However, over a million tonnes of grain has accumulated at the oblast threshing centers due to transportation shortages. The Astrakhan branch of the Volga railroad needs 10 times more cars. Don River centers are also experiencing problems. They need twice as many ships for transportation. (1100)

29 July

No significant developments reported.

30 July

Yaroslavl Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has decalred an emergency situation in relation to the laying in of feed and harvesting in the oblast. Yields are good for cereals and vegetable crops, but weather and the reluctance of town enterprises to help has led to delays in harvesting. The rural population cannot cope with the volume of work. (1400)

A correspondent in Alma-Ata reports that the Kazakhstan harvest promises to be a good one. Cereal are to be harvested from 23 million hectares and corn from 2 million hectares. Groat crops, soya, sugar beets, cotton, vegetables, and potatoes sown on hundreds of thousands of hectares all need to be harvested in the next three to four months. Due to a lack of spare parts as many as 10,000 harvesters may be out of action, the correspondent reports. Collective and state farms are holding up the sale of grain, especially barley, to the state because the farms have no guarantees that they will be supplied with sufficient quantities of feed from the Union fund for livestock breeding in exchange for grain.

Over the last five years the area sown to wheat has been reduced by 2 million hectares; barley for animal feed has replaced it.

The correspondent concludes, saying that a splendid vegetable harvest is being left to rot since financially autonomous enterprises will not release people to work in the fields. (1500)

Farms Urged To Sell Grain for Hard Currency

PM0108145790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 29 Jul 90

[Reports by V. Obraztsov and I. Dvorkin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The problem of the harvest and preserving the harvest is currently coming to the fore. This is, of course, an economic task, but it is also in many respects a political task as well. This year the land has been generous to the country and the people and,

according to specialists' forecasts, the harvest will indeed be a record one. The State Committee for Statistics reports that contract pledges for supplies of combines and various machinery to agriculture have not been fulfilled during this half-year. Plants and manufacturers often demand merely exchanges in kind—we give you equipment, you give us foodstuffs. In conditions of persisting monopolism on the one hand, and a rigid planned distribution system on the other, nothing good can of course come of these relations. What way out is there in this situation? Many people think that one way out is to sell grain for hard currency, but in particular Kuban crop farmers for instance last year received 2.5 million foreign currency rubles. Which is incidentally not that much. Now reports from our correspondents in Krasnodar and Alma-Ata.

[Obraztsov] [video shows mound of grain] This year there is also a chance of increasing hard-currency payments into kolkhoz [collective farm] coffers several times over. There will be more above-plan grain, and there will now be hard-currency accounts right on the spot, at the agro-industrial complex, at banks where farms conduct their transactions. Thus, for a tonne of first-class strong wheat, farms will obtain 60 foreign rubles. They will be paying more than $200 for a tonne of wheat bought in the United States.

Lyubov Ivanovna, do you think that this resolution discriminates against peasants?

[L.I. Ishchenko, head of the kray agro-industrial union foreign economic relations department] Not at all. From last year's experience I am even able to say that our enterprises have not come off worse at all. The 50-60,000 tonnes of grain we handed over enabled us to earn a certain amount of hard currency. Even those people who were not able to use this to acquire any equipment, technology, or protection systems have exchanged them via hard-currency auctions—at very good rates, moreover, 1:16 or 1:20—which has enabled them to put their economic position to rights, directly with our national currency, and farms do not stand to lose from this.

[Obraztsov] But this year I understood that you are helping exchange money for our rubles if people want.

[Ishchenko] Today we have an offer to sell 200,000 [tonnes] of grain for hard currency. This will bring us roughly up to 10 million foreign currency rubles. But in order to help farms, in order to ensure that they do not experience certain difficulties when they go to Moscow and knock on the doors of various Moscow foreign trade organizations, we have set up the Kubanintorg firm at the kray agro-industrial union, vested with all the rights of foreign trade organizations ranging from commercial transactions to those auctions, and what is more foreign-currency auctions via the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity system.

[Dvorkin] [video shows grainfields] The weather this year has not let crop farmers down. The harvest has now ripened on nonirrigated land. The situation is best in those areas where people have obtained power on the land thanks to the lease system.

[G.I. Ilyan, team leader] We must emancipate people, give them autonomy to work autonomously to ensure that the producer, and no one else, has the initiative.

[Dvorkin] Earnings from the harvest are free from planning diktat. Like the followers of Khudenko at the Khudenkovskiy cooperative, people on dozens of other farms have really set about increasing soil fertility. The soil is better and grain quality rises in those areas where there is increased fallow land. But, as is well known, growing good grain is only half the matter. In Aktyubinsk Oblast over the last few years grain crops have regularly been burnt up. But this year some fields are producing 25-30 quintals per hectare. [video shows harvesting work under way] But the question is how much of this will disappear on the threshing floor and at the elevator.

The harvest seems to have come as a surprise to many farms here. There are problems with spare parts and combine stock which have been badly prepared for the harvest campaign, plus difficulties with fuel. Grain is already on the threshing floor in the south of the republic. The plan for productivity has, for instance, been exceeded in Chimkent Oblast. But the state order for grain supplies to the state is to be fulfilled by about 70 percent. The reason for this is that it is more beneficial for farms to keep grain for feed than to obtain combined feed from the state for the winter.

[Announcer] Nonetheless, while relying on kolkhozes' and sovkhozes' enterprise, according to mass media reports the Soviet Government has asked President Bush's administration for loans of $2 billion for procurements of U.S. grain. In this connection I would like to remind you of President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's quite recent appeal to local organs of power both in the countryside and in the cities, suggesting that they seek out all opportunities to bring in the harvest. After all, the country's preservation of the hard currency we need so much ultimately depends on this

Bumper Kuban Harvest, Storage Problems Reported

PM0208103990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Report by V. Obraztsov, V. Golubev, and Ye. Velichko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Whereas only a month ago our agricultural workers were debating how to grow grain, the problem now is how to conserve it. Sad statistics confirm that for decades we left a third of what we had grown in the fields and on the roads, about as much as we subsequently bought abroad.

According to preliminary estimates, more than 230 million tonnes of grain have been grown in our country this year. How much of it will actually reach the granaries?

[Correspondent] Never before have Kuban grain fields produced such abundant returns. On kolkhoz [collective farm] and sovkhoz [state farm] threshing floors, mountains of grain are piling up, whole Mount Elbruses made of grain. It would seem that the more grain there is, the faster grain procurement should proceed. But this is not the case. The plentiful harvest spells big problems for the farmers. [video shows heaps of grain out in the open]

[M.S. Turchin, threshing floor chief] It is necessary to promptly ship out the grain from the threshing floors, take it away, and put it under a roof somewhere. What we need are construction materials, what we need is machinery—the latest machinery, not the antedeluvian machinery we are working with on the threshing floor, good machinery, good loading and unloading equipment....

[Correspondent] What is the agro-industrial union doing to cope with this grain? What is to be done with it? You can see the threshing floors are bursting, the state granaries are bursting. If the state granaries cannot accept this grain maybe it could be given, it could be sold to people. What is your view on this?

[I.S. Stolyarov, deputy chairman of the Krasnodar Kray agro-industrial union] The Kray agro-industrial complex workers receive grain as payment in kind. In addition we have suggested and recommended to our kolkhozes and sovkhozes that they offer grain at preferential prices to all who want to acquire it for livestock raising on personal plots and subsidiary farms. There are no problems here.

[Correspondent] I would just like to add that what I would very much like to be able to do is to point to a ship in the port of Novorossiysk being loaded with our excellent Kuban wheat to be sold abroad rather than being brought in from abroad.

Bumper Grain Crop Grown; Harvesting Problematic

PM0108142390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 27 Jul GMT 1330 90

[Interview with A.I. Zholobov, main administration deputy chief in USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Procurements, presented by political observer Anatoliy Ivashchenko, who introduces Zholobov as "our chief grain expert"; from the "Telebridge on the State of the Harvest" program—interview begins at 3 minutes 30 seconds into the broadcast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [A.I. Zholobov, Main Administration deputy chief in USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Procurements] The harvest that has been grown is truly quite exceptional. This is partly due to the technological restructuring which is being carried out on the country's grain fields. Judging by reports from local level, gross grain yields this year may approach or even exceed the 1978 record year when we gathered 237 million tonnes of grain, but it is difficult to say now because everything depends on how the harvest is carried out. It has to be borne in mind that the area under grain at present is 17 million hectares smaller than at that time [1978]. This illustrates how we have improved grain growing, in Russia at least.

That is one side of the matter. The other side is that the harvest is proceeding with difficulty, it is subject to disruptions, and is lagging behind last year's. It is true that the skies are blue, but they are not blue everywhere; there is rain too. But it rains every year. The main reason for our lagging behind the normal pace this year are difficulties with material and technical supplies and with the provision of resources. These have deteriorated considerably. There are great difficulties with the supplies of fuel and spare parts. However, organization at local level has also deteriorated. In the past the whole country took part, we mobilized all available machinery, and we closed down industrial enterprises, whereas now we have to manage with local resources. Nonetheless, the assistance asked of the cities should be given, and given on time in order to bring in the grain.

The situation as it stands at present: I have a progress report here; I could give you a few figures if we can fit them in somehow....

[Ivashchenko] Yes, yes, that's interesting; let's have a few figures.

[Zholobov] So to cite a few figures: To date grain has been cut on almost 20 million hectares, or 19 percent of the sown area. This is 9 million hectares less than at this time last year. Although as regards the ripening of grain, the two years have been roughly the same. Grain has been threshed on 17 million hectares which is 7.5 million hectares less than this time last year. Over the past week we cut 6.3 and threshed 5.7 [million hectares] which is again less than during the corresponding week last year. So these are the complications. Moreover, the lag is big in Russia both as regards starting up the harvest and maintaining the pace, and in the Ukraine. A good crop naturally demands greater expenditure. If the crop is good it needs to be gathered faster since if a big harvest is delayed the losses are big too. Average yields from the area that has been harvested and threshed are 33.1 [quintals per hectare]

[Ivashchenko] This is unprecedented—average yields of 33 quintals in the country during the first weeks of harvest. This has never happened before.

[Zholobov] Quite. Last year we achieved average yields of 19 quintals. That was the figure at the end of the harvest. These were record yields. We did not exceed 1978 as regards gross output, but we did exceed it as regards average yields. This year we are exceeding even last year's record figures as regards yields. As for estimated yields from the area yet to be harvested—people almost everywhere are saying that they will be higher than last year's, substantially higher. Therefore it is a great responsibility to harvest, procure, and make good

use of this grain. [excerpt ends 7 minutes 13 seconds into the broadcast] [passage omitted]

Government Buys Less Grain Despite Big Harvest

LD0208105190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Excerpts] PRAVDA today gives important place to materials under the heading "Harvest Hour." [passage omitted]

The overall situation is like this: Although the grain harvest in the country is considerably bigger than last year, the rates of purchases of grain are noticeably lower. Thus, as of 30 July 8 million tons of grain less had been purchased than by the same time last year. A paradoxical situation has taken shape: Tens of millions of tons of grain are lying in the fields under the open sky. Farms would be glad to sell it to the state which is willing to buy the grain. So what is stopping the buyer and seller getting together? More often than not an alarming trend is making its appearance. Local bodies are trying to keep the grain at their disposal. These circumstances are compounded by the tremendous difficulties with gasoline, equipment, spares, and labor. Moreover, a considerable number of grain reception points are working only 12-14 hours a day. How can one forget the sad statistic here: Every day grain is kept in the open air means a one percent loss of the harvest already gathered.

Scientific

Reportage on Flight To Transfer Cosmonauts

Baykonur Preparations Reported

PM0208104390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Report by S. Slipchenko and V. Pankratov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] At the Baykonur Cosmodrome the latest space expedition to the Mir orbital complex is getting ready for launch.

[Correspondent] Today at dawn, before the sun had made the temperature rise in the steppe, the launch vehicle was transported to the Gagarin launch pad. [video shows launch vehicle in detail] The TM-10 spacecraft is on the tip of the launch vehicle, it has already been fueled and is ready for last-minute checks.

The crews—that is the two Gennadiys, Strekalov and Manakov; and Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov—are resting. Tomorrow morning a state commission will decide which will be the number one crew.

The launch vehicle is again covered with advertisements which will bring in money. But our country's name on the nose cone is an innovation although it could have been done before. [video shows nose cone] Does this mean that national pride in priority scientific and technical programs is reawakening in our country? Let's hope so. It is strange that we are casting aspersions on these programs at the Supreme Soviet while journalists from Japan, Western Europe, and Australia are filled with respect. [video shows photographers taking pictures of the launch vehicle]

Today during the meeting with the chief designer and the leadership of the cosmodrome it was obvious that this sector in our country is attracting not only journalists but also specialists. There is more trust and openness at the cosmodrome. For instance, it was possible today to put questions to Vladimir Leontyevich Ivanov, Ministry of Defense chief of space units. The very admission of the existence of these units in our country speaks of a change of policy.

The main thing now is that journalists are able to obtain truthful first-hand information at the cosmodrome. After all, rumors about the collapse of the Soviet space program may be partly due to rivalry. Contracts for commercial flights have been concluded with Austria, Britain, Germany, and France. This may be a thorn in some people's flesh.

Tomorrow journalists will be shown the Buran craft and the Energiya rocket. They are on the launch pad.

On 1 August members of the leadership of companies with a worldwide reputation such as Sony, American Express, Minolta, Pax, and others will come to the cosmodrome to watch the launch. This too is no idle curiosity. It is quite possible that proposals for cooperation will follow. Tomorrow we will tell you during the "Vremya" newscast which crew will go into space.

Moscow Radio Reports on Launch

LD0108104190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0930 GMT on 1 August, in a direct linkup with the Baykonur launch site, carries a report by correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev on the launching of the Soyuz TM-10 spacecraft.

Cosmonaut Valeriy Polyakov tells the correspondent two minutes prior to the launch: "According to information from radio conversations and the telemetry that we are receiving, one can say that the crew is feeling well, the boys are feeling quite confident and calm. They are carrying out the final checking commands and tests with precision, and they are fully ready for work. I am sure that they are impatiently awaiting the moment when their work begins, and they leave the earth."

At 0932 GMT, the correspondent announces that the last props are falling away. Seconds later the rockets can be heard, and the Soyuz TM-10 is launched. Shouting over the noise of the rockets, the correspondent says: "There have been unexpected strong gusts of wind over Baykonur, but they didn't affect the flight of the rocket and it has surged upward. I would remind you that the

flight into orbit will last eight minutes and 50 seconds, or 530 seconds; within 118 seconds the detachment of the first stage, and within 288 seconds the second stage."

After several minutes of general information on the usefulness of space research, the correspondent says "the flight is continuing" and introduces a song.

At approximately 0945 GMT the correspondent at Baykonur comes on the air again to announce that reports from the cosmonauts can now be heard, that they can now feel weightlessness and are in orbital flight. Correspondent Leonid Lazarevich then reports from flight control center saying: "On the screen are the calm, confident faces of the two Gennadiy Mikhailovich's—Manakov and Strekalov. They are unfastening their belts and have set to work. The first orbit is a very crucial one: All of the craft's systems have to be checked once again." He goes on: "They have now encountered weightlessness, for Manakov this is the first time, but they are working with great precision. The flight control center has also started working intensively. Information is constantly coming in here now from both the Mir complex and from the Soyuz TM-10 craft already." He goes on to explain that the flight control center has prepared a surprise for them: The two crews will be able to speak to one another via flight control center.

The correspondent winds up by saying that docking with the Mir station will take place at about 1100 GMT on 3 August.

Moscow TV Carries Launch

LD0108131490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1130 GMT on 1 August carries a 21-minute special editorial of the Television "News Service" program. Correspondent Sergey Slipchenko reports from Baykonur where the Soyuz TM-10 spacecraft blasted off at 0932 GMT with a crew of two on board.

The Soviet space program, Slipchenko observes, has come in for a great deal of criticism recently at home and abroad, allegedly failing to make the best use of space research opportunities; and it has been suggested that the Mir station will soon be abandoned. The contrary is the case, he says. There follows a graphic of a model of the Mir complex, showing modules and views of the inside of the reequipment module, with Slipchenko reciting figures on the dimensions of the craft. Further graphic material appears to be from a space exhibition on the research done on board Mir.

The new cosmonauts, Manakov and Strekalov, are shown reporting to the head of the state commission—today Colonel General Ivanov, as Kirimov is ill—and then moving to the launch complex, giving a final brief interview to Soviet television and entering the craft. General Shumilin exchanges a few words with Slipchenko and moves off to supervise the launch since he is responsible for aborting the launch if necessary. Cameras move inside the control room, and while the last two minutes before the launch tick away Slipchenko treats viewers to a glimpse of the Japanese businessmen and journalists who are watching the launch and broadcasting it live to Japan. Companies such as Sony and Pax, Slipchenko remarks, are interested in the big business of Soviet experience of space research, and that means big money.

On the launch pad the props move away and the Soyuz TM-10 blasts off. Within 80 seconds the craft will be 17km away, and within 120 seconds it will be 46km from Earth. Video shows the cosmonauts in the craft and barely audible sounds of the cosmonauts' commentary as the launch proceeds. The cosmonauts report that the flight is proceeding normally. Slipchenko says that the first stage should separate off within 18 seconds. At 0300 GMT this morning, he says a 55-year old bonsai tree and some snails were put on board for biological research. Docking with the Mir complex is expected on 3 August.

He goes on to note that the previous Mir crew are to land at 0700 GMT on 9 August, near Arkalyk. Slipchenko reports that Baykonur Flight Control now hands over to Moscow Flight Control as, 500 seconds into the flight, the Soyuz TM-10 crew report that all is going well.

Launch Proceeds Without 'Hitch'

LD0108124190 Moscow TASS in English 1227 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—The Soviet Union today launched a spaceship with two cosmonauts for a link-up with the orbiting Mir (Peace) platform to relieve the resident crew of Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin who have been working in space for the past six months.

The replacement team of Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov blasted off from Baykonur space port in the Soyuz TM-10 spaceship at 13:32 Moscow time and, mission control officials told TASS, are in buoyant spirits and feeling well.

The officials said the take-off went without a hitch, precisely on schedule.

It was watched by numerous foreign reporters, among them Japanese correspondents including TBS Television's Rioko Kikuchi and Toiehiro Akiyama, one of whom is going to take part in a Soviet-Japanese space mission to Mir slated for next December.

The two correspondents have been preparing for the flight at a cosmonaut training centre outside Moscow. The Japanese cosmonaut is expected to return to earth with Manakov and Strekalov in Soyuz TM-10 after a program of joint research and scientific experiments with Soviet colleagues.

In addition to the Japanese there are British and Austrian aspiring spacemen currently undergoing training at the centre, dubbed recently an international space academy.

Spacecraft To Dock 3 Aug

LD0108195390 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Excerpts] The Soviet spacecraft Soyuz TM-10 has made its first spin around the earth. [passage omitted]

Mission control experts have told a Radio Moscow reporter that the craft is to dock the Mir orbitting complex on Friday [3 August] at 1600 Moscow time [1200 GMT]. The new crew will take over the complex from Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin and spend 132 days there.

Soyuz, Mir Progress Update

LD0208074290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov, who blasted off into space yesterday, are continuing their flight on board the Soyuz TM-10 spacecraft. A correction of the spaceship's orbit is scheduled for 1444 Moscow time today [1044 GMT].

Today's program of work on board the Mir scientific research complex includes astrophysical experiments using the Buket and Granat spectrometers, work on the Kristallizator technological installation, geophysical experiments on the environmental study program, and the Resonans technical experiment.

During the day, in accordance with the plan for the return to earth, Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin will carry out a three-hour training session.

According to reports from both crews and telemetric information, the flight of the Soyuz TM-10 spacecraft and the Mir space station is proceeding in keeping with the established program.

Cosomonauts Maneuver for Link-up

LD0208105990 Moscow TASS in English 1051 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—TASS correspondent reporting from the Mission Control Centre:

Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov, who are heading for the Mir orbital station in the Soyuz TM-10 spaceship, on Wednesday checked the serviceability of the ship's onboard systems and the air-tightness of its compartments. They manoeuvred the spaceship for Friday's link-up with the orbital station.

The parameters of the Soyuz TM-10 spaceship's orbit are as follows after correction:

—maximum distance from the Earth's surface - 385 kilometers;
—minimum distance from the Earth's surface - 314 kilometers;
—period of revolution - 91.3 minutes;
—orbit inclination - 51.6 degrees.

Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin are preparing to greet the new crew and conducting scientific research today.

Under the program of geophysical experiments, the cosmonauts will carry out a series of visual observations and take pictures of separate sections of the earth's surface along the station's flight path.

Experiments aim to "assess the ecological state of water bodies and forest tracts in the southern areas of the European part of the Soviet Union and Central Asian republics.

The cosmonauts are planning to conduct the Rezonans experiment to define the dynamic characteristics of the orbital station which is a complex space system.

Cosmonauts Manakov, Strekalov, Solovyev, and Balandin are in good health according to the results of the radio talks.

The Soyuz TM-10 spaceship is calculated to dock with the Mir station at 15:47 on Friday, August 3.

Military

Moiseyev Says Generals To Be Cut By 30 Percent

LD0108161190 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—Soviet Military Chief of Staff Army General Mikhail Moiseyev welcomed U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney's recent decision to cut the number of generals on the U.S. Defence Department's payroll as another sign of new thinking and a thaw in U.S.-Soviet relations.

Under Cheney's order, 13 "generals and admirals, or half the officers of such rank serving with the department, will be replaced by civilian experts or lower-ranking military specialists.

"Similar measures in the Soviet Armed Forces will not be long coming either," Gen. Moiseyev said in a TASS interview today.

He said that the Soviet command, acting in keeping with ongoing military reform and a plan to reduce Soviet Armed Forces by 500,000 officers and men, has sent the government a draft decision to cut the number of generals by at least 30 per cent.

The cuts, according to Gen. Moiseyev, will also affect the Defence Ministry where a number of generals will be replaced by lower-ranking officers.

"Should the government endorse the draft decision, the cuts will begin this year," he said.

Renaming of Latvian, Georgian Naval Ships Noted

LD2807112390 Moscow TASS in English 1103 GMT 28 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 28 TASS—One of the most up-to-date ships of the Soviet Navy, the aircraft-carrying cruiser named after the Latvian capital Riga, will from now on bear the name of Varyag after one of the ships of the pre-revolutionary Russian Navy distinguished for heroism.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper reported today that the ship was renamed on servicemen's demand. They believe it is impermissible to name naval ships of the new generation after the [words indistinct] of those republics in which young people refuse to do military service and where soldiers of the Soviet Army, veterans of the Second World War and participants in the war in Afghanistan, are denigrated.

The newspaper reports that there are plans to rename the aircraft-carrying cruiser bearing the name of the Georgian capital, Tbilisi.

Baltic Republics

First Round of Russian-Latvian Treaty Talks End

LD0108155590 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS —The first round of official consultations between the Latvian and Russian delegations regarding the signing of a treaty between the two republics ended in the Soviet capital today.

Andreas Krastins, head of the Latvian delegation, vice president of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, positively assessed the work done over two days of the consultations. He said the delegations have no differences in principle.

In an interview with TASS he emphasised that an interstate treaty on relations between the Russian Federation and the Latvian republic, including elements of economic relations, is to be signed. Krastins announced that the next meeting between the two delegations is planned to be held in Riga or in Jurmala, Latvia, next weekend.

Alexander Granberg, people's deputy of Russia, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who heads the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee on Interrepublican Relations, Regional Policy and Cooperation also expressed a positive view of consultations.

"Over the past two days we have considerably advanced in the understanding of all the points of the future treaty. On some points of the treaty we are ahead of the existing laws. It is natural that in this situation all the consequences of each coordinated word should be thoroughly considered", Grandberg said.

He said that the draft treaty contains provisions for the rights of citizens of various nationalities residing in the territories of the Russian Federation and Latvia. He said that the talks between the two republics are conducted simultaneously with the drafting of a new Union treaty. "It would certainly be simpler if a Union treaty be formulated and concluded earlier and we would build from it. But time is short", he said.

The decision to draft the treaty of the three Baltic republics with Russia was adopted at a meeting of the Baltic Council in the Latvian resort of Jurmala on July 27. President of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet Boris Yeltsin, now vacationing on the Riga coast, took part in the meeting.

Yeltsin Addresses Latvian Council Session

Gorbunovs Welcomes Yeltsin

LD0108201490 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1502 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Remarks by Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Latvian Supreme Council Chairman, at the Latvian Supreme Council session in Riga—live, in Russian]

[Text] Permit me, on the instructions of the parliament of the Latvian Republic, to welcome you, Boris Nikolayevich, among us as chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, and to say that our parliament received the declaration on Russia's sovereignty with great satisfaction. With all our hearts, we wish you great success in its implementation. We also welcome your initiative on the conclusion of our horizontal treaties between the Latvian Republic and Russia, as you emphasized, without any prior political conditions, since we sincerely believe that this will promote not only the development of our economic relations, but is truly an endorsement of the goodneighborliness, goodwill, and cooperation between the people of Latvia and the people of Russia. [applause]

Yeltsin Addresses Assembly

LD0108230890 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1503 1 Aug 90

[Remarks by Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) president, at the Latvian Supreme Soviet session in Riga—live, in Russian]

[Text] Esteemed deputies, I thank you for your greetings and the warm words spoken by Anatolijs Valeriyanovich Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Republic. It indeed seems to me that a new stage in our mutual relations is beginning, inasmuch as with the democratization of the whole of society the Baltic republics have shot forward, and the fact that many people, including the leadership, overlooked this movement and underestimated it as a progressive one, has led to a situation where rather tense relations have been formed. I think this is of no benefit either to you or, say, the parliament of Russia and the peoples of Russia and Latvia.

Therefore, we believe we must progress toward developing horizontal relations. We must demolish this vertical, tough core, demolish it, and proceed toward direct links between voluntary, sovereign and independent states, to treaties which would not be dictated from the center on what percentage rates of taxation there should be and on what percentage deductions to the Union budget, and so on, and so forth. Latvia and Russia are concluding a treaty without any prior political or economic conditions.

This means, as we have agreed, that there will be a first part—a political and legal part—of our treaty which will be signed by the two chairmen of the Supreme Soviets;

and a second part containing [passage indistinct] the second part containing a treaty on economic, scientific-technical and trade cooperation, on interethnic relations, citizenship, culture, certain social issues, and so on, at the level of chairmen of councils of ministers. This treaty is due to be signed in Riga.

These two integral parts are due to constitute (?I stress), the system of our mutual relations in the future regardless of the fact that [passage indistinct]. Russia will possibly take part in a Union treaty, but it seems to me on conditions to which the center will either not agree, or at least [words indistinct], insofar as we consider the draft the center has prepared: It cannot satisfy Russia or no doubt other sovereign states. So, we have prepared our own version which provides for a treaty on the creation of a comity of sovereign states having the basis of a confederation and having independence, and unites [words indistinct] some two or three elements, perhaps [passage indistinct] may on a voluntary basis return defense and state security to the Union—and this name needs to be changed—undoubtedly, and also, probably, matters connected with out monetary relations, so to speak, our credit and monetary relations. This then is perhaps all that we could be given back to the center, and of course if defense is delegated to, is legally the prerogative of, the center, then undoubtedly the status of these units, these military sub-units of the Ministry of Defense in this state, a definite status and a definite numerical strength must be agreed upon beforehand. Only on this condition can this part be given back. Just as it will be with the Committee for State Security which, in our opinion, in Russia, must be transformed rather into some kind of body for the defense of human rights. But not a [word indistinct] body.

This will, of course, be difficult. This will be a different organization, but nevertheless we believe that only in this way will it be possible to destroy this monster which has been crushing everyone with fear on the territory of our country, and has been for eight decades now causing considerable sorrow. We would like, of course, when submitting our proposals in a day or two on a draft of a new Union treaty and a treaty on comity, to have a common point of view, say, with the Latvian parliament, but, probably, I also understand that you are not currently ready for this. Each of these matters must indeed be analyzed very carefully: how matters are going to progress, what constructive things should be enshrined in this treaty, how realistic it will be, and then how the implementation of the treaty between Latvia and Russia will proceed.

I believe this treaty will definitely be signed and we will find a common viewpoint here on all questions because we have already had preliminary consultations at more than one meeting.

If you cannot now support our proposals, then, on behalf of the Russian Supreme Soviet, we will propose to the center our version of the draft, without indicating [words indistinct], but only our own point of view, what we would now have in mind and what this comity of sovereign states should be like.

The first Russian Congress of People's Deputies and the first session of the Supreme Soviet were held, like yours, in a very complex way, in a very difficult struggle. This is natural, however, since we did not travel along the same path as the Union congress; the interregional deputies group has not been registered even now, as it is considered that it was illegally formed. During the very first days we registered thirty deputies groups—on political criteria, territorial, professional, all kinds, without any conditions. We registered all thirty. Just imagine 30 groups, each of which insists on expressing its view in the Supreme Soviet! This multiplicity of opinions is, from one point of view, and primarily, of course, a very fine thing, we have finally abandoned uniformity of opinions, and come to a multiplicity of viewpoints. But when this multiplicity overflows, and then you still have to get around to adopting specific laws, then, as in your case, we have difficulties. Nevertheless, I think these are difficulties of a different order; they are the difficulties that attend the birth of genuine democracy. We will overcome (?these difficulties in good time). I am aware that you have today passed a law on religion. Is that not so? Have you not adopted one? [voice from hall says, "The second reading!"] The second reading? What, is it not the final reading? Not the final one, is it? We have not matured to that stage yet! [laughter] We still only have two readings!

Nevertheless, you will be able to see from the decisions of the congress and now the first session of the Supreme Soviet that Russia is on the move. It is at last beginning to acquire its statehood, which it never had. It was a simple appendage of the center, and other (?states and republics) always equated the mistakes of the centre with the mistakes of Russia. They blamed Russia, even though it had no independence of its own, nor even the elements of sovereignty. So now this declaration, this separation of functions between the center and the republic, are naturally of colossal significance for the whole of the life of Russia. I understand that you have a strict time-limit here? Thank you for the hint! I realize you were talking about a different time-limit, [word indistinct] (?president). I think that you were not expecting some sort of policy statement from me. I did not prepare for one, and did not expect to deliver one. But if you have any troubling and urgent questions, you are most welcome: I am prepared to answer them.

Now I would just like once again to give you my best wishes and to say that we would like one of the first treaties we conclude to be between Russia and Latvia: before the Union treaty, for one thing, and before the adoption of the new constitution, for another. That is, we want to conclude this treaty within a month and a half. Then our front, the defense front, so to speak, of the three baltic republics was a little small, you must admit, and the pressure from the center was great. Now Russia has taken its place alongside. The center has now become seriously worried. It will now be more difficult for it to

proceed against this fortified chain of defense, so to speak. This is already clear from the actions of the country's central leadership. So I thank you, and wish you success in your work. [applause]

Yeltsin on Union Treaty

LD0108200790 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga August 1 TASS—An alternative draft Union treaty has been elaborated and it will be presented on behalf of the Russian parliament "in a day or two", President of the Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin told the Latvian parliament on Wednesday.

Yeltsin is currently in Latvia on a vacation and today visited the republic's parliament.

The draft envisages that the future Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should be a community of sovereign states, on the basis of confederation, Yeltsin said. "We are planning to delegate two or three things to the centre, say, defence and security issues," he said. He believes the Army should have a specific status and a determined quantity, and the KGB "should become a completely different organisation that would protect human rights."

"A new stage of our mutual relations begins. The fact that after the democratisation of society began, the Baltic Republics appeared ahead of all and that the centre underestimated them, resulted in considerable tension," Yeltsin said.

He favoured the development of direct horisontal ties between republics as sovereign and independent states and "agreements, conditions for which are not determined by the centre, agreements without economic and political preconditions."

Speaking of an agreement between Latvia and Russia, the first round of talks on which ended in Moscow today, Yeltsin said the document will comprise a political and legal part and provisions determining economic, cultural, interethnic, trade and other relations.

"The agreement will be the basis for our mutual relations, no matter how Latvia's relations with the centre develop and independently of the Latvian participation in the Union treaty," he said.

Yeltsin informed the Latvian parliament that the bilateral agreement will be signed before the signing of the Union treaty.

Greeting the guest, President of the Latvian parliament Anatoliy Gorbunov noted that the Latvian parliament welcomed the declaration of the Russian Federation' sovereignty and Yeltsin's initiative to sign an agreement between Russia and Latvia "without preconditions."

Latvians Cooperating With Draft Threatened

PM0208103190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Dispatch by Colonel M. Ziyeminsh under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Is Mr. Irgens Making Threats?"]

[Text] Riga—A "document" addressed to "people's deputies at all levels, executive committees, leaders of institutions, enterprises, and organizations, and citizens of the Latvian republic" was penned by A. Irgens, chairman of the Latvian [Citizens'] Committee. What kind of a message is this and what need compelled an active worker from an independent organization to appeal to representatives of such a wide and varied audience?

Institutions of the "occupying power of the USSR—military commissariats, which draft citizens of the Latvian republic into the Army by means of deceit and coercion and give verbal and written orders to executive committees, institutions, enterprises, and organizations," its says, continue to operate on Latvian territory.

Mr. A. Irgens does not just state, affirm, and prohibit. On behalf of the Latvian Citizens' Committee, he also apparently threatens his compatriots who take it into their heads to disobey him. How else are we to assess such words in his categorical message: "Officials who collaborate with the occupiers may be called to account under the law after the de facto restoration of the Latvian Republic..."

The document, which, incidentally, was read out on local television, provoked the indignation of a large part of the republic's population. For this reason, the district military council protested against it. It asked the republic leadership for explanations: On what legal basis are such "directives" on the part of self-styled representatives of power circulated among the republic's population?

A good question, as they say.

31 Jul Lithuanian Supreme Council Session Carried

LD0108172490

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1500 GMT on 31 July continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

At this time, the session continues debates and voting on individual articles in the draft law on taxation of juridical bodies.

At 1550 GMT, a break is declared until 1610 GMT.

At 1610 GMT, the relay resumes and debates and voting continue.

At 1630 GMT, the whole draft law on the taxation of juridical bodies is adopted by a majority of votes.

At 1723 GMT, after debate, a decision on the coming into force of the law on taxation is adopted.

At 1730 GMT, a break is declared until 1800 GMT.

At 1800 GMT, the relay resumes.

At 1900 GMT, Prime Minister Prunskiene states that there would be no time left to discuss the appointment of the third deputy prime minister and this question should be left for the autumn session.

Debates then begin on whether a delegation for the negotiations with Moscow should be appointed. In the opinion of one deputy, if Lithuania does not have a delegation by the middle of September, this matter would not be taken seriously. In response to this, Vytautas Landsbergis says in part:

"The fact is that we are setting up panels of experts to prepare concrete questions on contacts with the other side. The other side so far has not demonstrated its wish, or so far has not responded to the official appeal by our commission on this problem. Perhaps this problem will start moving, perhaps the panel of experts will start working, and I think that it will take longer than the month of August. Especially if we wish to coordinate some principal questions concerning the possibility for people to come and take part in the panels of experts and help us. But so far, we have been blockaded, we are in an unequal situation. Then we will have to decide whether we will go to negotiations as such poor and unequal partners, or whether we will fight for the recognition of our human rights, to have our own consultants, and so on. I think that the coordination of the protocol will also be a lengthy affair".

Following this, Vilius Baldisis is appointed chairman of the Board of the Lithuanian Bank by a majority of votes.

Debates then begin on the amendment to the basic provisional law on granting special powers to the Presidium of the Supreme Council during the recess.

At 1930 GMT, the live relay ends.

Lithuanian Leaders Hold News Conference

LD0108175490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] A news conference was held today at the Supreme Council building. Deputy chairmen of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Bronius Kuzmickas and Kazimieras Motieka, and secretary of the Supreme Council, Liydvikas Sabutis, replied to journalists' questions both about the first session of the Supreme Council and about urgent political matters.

As is known, the first session of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania , which started its work on 10 March, had 108 plenary sittings, adopted 48 laws, and prepared 50 draft laws for the second session. Thus, a building of laws and legal documents for a Lithuanian state is being built.

During this period of less than four months, when the first session of the Supreme Council was working, the idea of the independence of the Lithuanian Republic has reached the awareness not only of our nation but also of the world public.

The interval in the work of the parliament is not long, only until 7 August, that is, until the extraordinary session of the Supreme Council.

According to Supreme Council Secretary Liudvikas Sabutis, the parliament is not on vacation. Legally the parliamenarians do not have vacation. Thus, the interval between the sessions is devoted to work.

There were many questions about state negotiations with Russia and the Soviet Union. Kazimieras Motieka said Lithuania is prepared for the negotiations with the Kremlin. Nine contact groups have been set up and they are at work. A message has been sent to the Government of the Soviet Union, but an official reply has not been received so far. The Kremlin is going to negotiations with Lithuania not as an object of international law, but is instead inviting it as though to a meeting of an economic aktiv.

During the news conference both Kazimieras Motieka and Bronius Kuzmickas expressed their negative attitude toward a statement by a group of Lithuanian intellectuals about the elections of the second sejmas [council]. This voice from the conservative forces is untimely and out of place, it was stated at the news conference.

A report about the news conference will be broadcast by Lithuanian television.

Supreme Council on Kidnappings for Services

LD0108200190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] A meeting of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Presidium was held today. It ws chaired by the chairman of the Supreme Council, Vytautas Landsbergis.

The meeting examined the kidnapping of young men and their forcible inclusion in the service of the Soviet Union's Armed Forces. The Supreme Council Presidium drew the attention of the republican Procuracy and the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the necessity of investigating such crimes.

Bearing in mind the anxiety and wish of the public, the Presidium adopted a decision about the publications of an amoral nature, which have been recently emerging. The Presidium instructed the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs to stop the printing and distribution of the supplment DVIDESIMT KAPEIKU [TWENTY KOPECKS] to the newspaper VSARIO 16-TOJI, and also of other publications violating moral norms.

The meeting discussed documents adopted by the Vilnius rayons local governments which exceed their

powers. The commission of the Supreme Council for the affairs local governments and the rights of citizens and nationalities to examine these documents and submit proposals.

The meeting also discussed the agenda of the extraordinary session of the Supreme Council, which is to take place 7 August.

Lithuanian Leaders on Supreme Council Session

LD0108230190 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Excerpts] The first session of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania concluded its work last night before midnight. [passage omitted]

But yesterday, during the repeated debates, a decision was not taken to grant powers to the Supreme Council Presidium between the sessions. In the opinion of some deputies, one month of deputies' holidays was too short a period of time for something special to happen which would demand the granting of greater powers to the Presidium. Others saw a threat of presidential ruling in the granting such powers. Others again proposed that the parliament should not have a recess. [passage omitted]

The work of the first session of the Supreme Council was summarized and evaluated today at a press conference. Vytautas Landsbergis, his deputies Bronius Kuzmickas and Kazimieras Motieka, and Secretary of the Supreme Council Liudvikas Sabutis met the journalists.

Bronius Kuzmickas noted that the Supreme Council had been working in especially difficult conditions. After the 11 March proclamation, there was a great pressure on the part of the USSR leadership. Later it assumed more subtle forms. Attempts were made by various means to destabilize the situation and create distrust in the parliament and government. On the other hand, said Bronius Kuzmickas, the inexperience of the parliamentarians has been felt for some time. But the work, which lasted almost five months, should be evaluated positively. The idea of Lithuania's independence, stressed the vice chairman, has firmly grown in the minds of the world's nations. Great changes were taking place in many Soviet republics, also not without the influence of the lithuanian parliament and its adopted decisions. [passage omitted]

Some assertions that the Russian Federation is not ready for negotiations with Lithuania were denied at the press conference. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and its leadership, stated the vice chairmen, regard the negotiations very seriously. The negotiations between the Russian Federation and Latvia started today. Lithuania's turn will come shortly. It was noted at the press conference that the Soviet Union was approaching negotiations with Lithuania rather unwillingly. So far there was no reply to a letter by Vice Chairman Bronius Kuzmickas to the Soviet premier, Nikolay Ryzhkov, where he asked to be informed about which persons would be appointed by the Soviet Government to maintain contacts before the negotiations so that many documents could be coordinated and the experts could meet.

There were many questions at the press conference about an appeal by a group of prominent Lithuanian people of art, culture, and science to the citizens of Lithuania published yesterday in the newspaper "RESPUBLIKA" and reprinted today in "TIESA." The chairman of the Supreme Council, Vytautas Landsbergis, said that the last sentence of that appeal was rather cleverly devised. It states that depending on a consistent implementation of economic and social reforms, the time would come when the citizens of Lithuania decide that a rehabilitating sejmas should be elected. According to Vytautas Landsbergis, people may think that such a sejmas should be elected now. This would mean a lack of confidence in the Supreme Council by people who signed this appeal. In his opinion, this is not the case because the appeal was signed by some deputies of the Supreme Council. This would mean that they had no confidence in themselves. Vytautas Landsbergis stated that there is a very interested great political force which is also endeavoring to inculcate this lack of confidence on an international scale. [passage omitted]

It seems from the text of the appeal that the people of Lithuania made a mistake in electing this Supreme Council which has accomplished nothing and does nothing. Its only activity is a deliberate wrecking of the government work. It would follow that all its decisions were of no great value including the 11 March act. Therefore, one should not forget for whom this is essential and politically useful, especially on the eve of the negotiations.

Lithuanian Deputy Premier on Talks With USSR

LD0208114190 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] [Announcer] As we have already reported, the Lithuanian parliament will be on holiday for practically the whole month of August. However, the Presidium of the Supreme Council and the leaders of the Supreme Council will continue to work intensively. The main task will be the preparation for negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Roma Pakeniene was talking to Kazimieras Motieka, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, about some especially pressing aspects of this work.

[Begin recording] [Roma Pakeniene] Mr. Motieka, in May, when the first proposals to Moscow were discussed, you told Vilnius Radio that as few concessions as possible should be made to Moscow. Has your position on that changed? Do you intend to continue pursuing the same policy?

[Motieka] Well, I can repeat this now. You see there are concessions and concessions. There can be no concessions concerning the act of 11 March, the act restoring Lithuania's independence. No concessions.

Here we must say that the 11 March act has never been an obstacle to Moscow negotiations with us. Never. These are artificial obstacles and therefore probably for this reason I made such a resolute and categorical statement, although I cannot recall where I said it in such a categorical way, yet I do not renounce this statement and I am saying the same thing now: There must be no concessions to Moscows concerning the restoration of our independence.

But why do we hear such reproaches today? Sometimes even letters are received, and even yesterday and appeal to the people of Lithuania was made public which alleges that the deputies of the Supreme Council are avoiding negotiations and do not want to start them, and so on. This does not reflect the true state of matters.

The point is that Moscow, in the person of Gorbachev, when he signed the decree concerning the composition of the delegation for negotiations with Lithuania, announced this rather solemnly through the entire press indicating the names of the officials and their posts held. This delegation is of the highest level indeed. However, this is a delegation for the negotiations. These negotiations should be held between two states, between two subjects of international law, between two states with equal rights. Yet the Soviet Union set up such a delegation without any preparations for negotiations, as if they were calling some managers of production enterprises or factories to come to the table and immediately start talking there, like some sort of a little sitting. We are not a province of the Soviet Union, a certain part of the Federation or the Union; we respect the 11 March act on the restoration of our independence, we regard ourselves as an independent state, we are such, and we want the negotiations to begin with this, on condition that the Soviet Union would sign a protocol prepared by the Commission for Preparatory Work which would then be handed to our delegation, on condition that a protocol is signed that we are parties with equal rights and that the negotiations will be held between two states, not between the Soviet Union and some province of the Soviet Union.

A great deal of work has been carried out while preparing this protocol. The commission is led by Professor Bronislovas Kuzmickas, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council. Many groups of experts have been set up, which are working on specific questions: on citizens' rights, economy, the budget, and so on. On all the spheres of our life and the economy. In this way we want to prepare for the negotiations. More than a week ago we sent a letter to Ryzhkov who is chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and the leader of the government, asking to inform us about officials appointed by them who would start talks on the preparation and coordination of the text and adoption of such a protocol. Later this protocol could be handed to both delegations, which then could sign this protocol without any lengthy debates on the issue, and following this the negotiations would start. They are aware of this, and that is why they do not give us any reply. They want to ensure that the negotiations are held not between two states but within the USSR, which would mean that the USSR is negotiating with a completely subordinate republic. This is what we do not agree with.

[Pakeniene] However, did you foresee such a possibility, and have you been preparing for it, in any case Moscow, the Kremlin, refuses to sign this protocol?

[Motieka] Then we will want to see what motives were behind this refusal, on what basis they would make such a statement to us. Perhaps, if it is possible to consider the same issues from other aspects, we do not refuse to do this; however, we must know what their opinion is; without it, we cannot do it. We would be very happy if a commission of the same nature were set up in Moscow as well, and a draft of such a protocol would also be prepared by it. Then it would be possible to study it, to consider it, and after some time both preparation commissions could meet and discuss these issues and [passage indistinct] if the Soviet Union agrees that we are a separate state and begins the negotiations, then, of course, the negotiations would proceed normally. [end recording]

Academic Says Independence Possible This Year

LD0108164390 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius Augus 1 TASS—A member of the Lithuanian parliament-and-government commission preparing talks with Russia said that a political treaty and an economic cooperation agreement will be signed between the two republics.

The agreement, Academician Eduardas Vilkas said, will provide for bilateral trade on a clearing basis. "Russia itself suggested not using world prices during the transition period, although they are twice as high as those used currently" in trade between the two republics, he said.

The agreement "will regulate direct relations between enterprises in Lithuania and Russia on the principles of a free common market", Vilkas said. "But all this evidently will not be signed before the adoption of a new Soviet Union treaty", he added.

He said that it is therefore essential to embark on talks with the USSR without delay, expressing bewilderment at Lithuania's slowness in opening negotiations with Moscow.

Lithuania, Vilkas said, "cannot achieve independence in any way other than by coming to terms with the Soviet Union". "By putting off talks, we are delaying our independence," he argued.

Vilkas said that "it is better to have good and friendly relations with the Soviet Union". In his opinion, such relations are possible if Lithuania "does not only uphold its interests but also attempts to accommodate Soviet interests".

"If we act correctly, we shall achieve independence as early as towards the end of the year," Vilkas said.

Lithuania-Poland Border Crossing Restricted

LD0108205690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] An unpleasant surprise is prepared for people who intend to travel to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic through the Lazdijai border checkpoint. People who are in possession of the USSR internal passport with the exit remark will have to return home. Participants in tourist trips also will be unable to go to Poland.

According to a decision by the USSR Council of Ministers, it is temporarily forbidden to use some checkpoints with such documents. One of such checkpoints is the Lazdijai-Ogorodniki border checkpoint on the border of Poland and Lithuania. It stops the journeys of the citizens with USSR internal passports from 1000 [0700 GMT] in the morning on 2 August.

Ex-Party Officials Given Diplomatic Posts

90UN2487A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 30, 28 Jul-3 Aug 90 p 8

[Text] *I have heard that a number of former ranking Central Committee functionaries of the Communist Party of Lithuania will be sent as USSR ambassadors to African countries. How true is this?*

[Signed] I. Mazeika, Klaipeda

According to data of the Lithuanian newspaper SOGLASIYE, some former ranking functionaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania will shortly assume high diplomatic posts in USSR embassies abroad. Thus, former Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania N. Dybenko is already at work as USSR ambassador to Mozambique, and V. Sakalauskas (former chairman of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers) has been appointed his counselor. V. Baltrunas (former secretary for ideology of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee) is slated to become ambassador to the Ivory Coast, V. Mikuciauskas (former minister of foreign affairs of the Lithuanian SSR)—ambassador to Sierra Leone, and C. Slizius (a former department head of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee and subsequently first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Lithuanian SSR)—ambassador to Mongolia.

As we were told by the first deputy chief of the Main Administration of Cadres and Educational Establishments of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, A. Tishchenko, V. Baltrunas, V. Mikuciauskas, and C. Slizius are now taking qualifying courses for leading diplomatic cadres at the USSR Foreign Ministry's Diplomatic Academy. The training of this group will be completed in the fall, but it is understood that V. Sakalauskas will be assigned to the USSR Embassy in Mozambique as minister-counselor for economic issues. As a rule, prominent specialists in the sphere of national economy organization are appointed to such positions.

As far as the other Lithuanian comrades mentioned above are concerned, upon completion of training it is planned to assign them to posts abroad, presumably in African countries. However, the question of their specific appointments will be resolved later. Apparently C. Slizius will be offered a USSR consul general post abroad.

Comrades from the party and soviet organs of a number of other union republics are also taking qualifying courses for leading diplomatic cadres at the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

[Signed] S. Yurev

Sajudis Denounces Criticism of Supreme Council

LD0108205190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Today we received a statement by the Council of the Sejmas of the Lithuanian Sajudis, which states that a group of persons published in the RESPUBLIKA newspaper on 31 July an appeal to the people of Lithuania. In this appeal, the group criticizes the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania for its disorganized work, for inconsistent adoption of laws, for the limitation of the powers of executive authorities, and other things. The authors of this appeal ask whether the time has not come to elect a rehabilitating sejmas, which could be entrusted with the foundations of a democratic Lithuania.

This appeal is an open expression of no confidence in the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania. After 11 March, such appeals have been no novelty, but they mostly used to be made by completely different forces. It is obvious that the work of the young Supreme Council has not always been consistent and constructive, but in four and one-half months, some causes of this lack of constructiveness became apparent, too. Therefore in the present conditions when the Republic of Lithuania is still occupied and unable to control its borders, when its recognition has not been renewed abroad, when the parliament and government are facing difficult and probably prolonged negotiations with the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation, and when our lives are influenced by many other external factors, such agitation, even if adorned by the most beautiful words, is untimely and [words indistinct].

The Sejmas Council of the Lithuanian Sajudis has confidence in the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, in the deputies supported by it and implementing its program, and regards the appeal by a group of persons who have been or are members of a certain party as irresponsible and destructive, and as dividing Lithuanian society, says the statement by the Sajudis Sejmas Council.

Army Deserter Reportedly Beaten by Soviet Troops

LD0108131890 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 1 Aug

[Excerpts] One more crime has been committed by Soviet soldiers. This time it happened in Ukmerge. The door of the apartment at No. 2 Veterinarija Street, where Laima Katiniene lives, was smashed and her son-in-law Robertas Kasparavicius who deserted the Soviet Armed Forces in the spring was beaten up and taken away by Soviet military men. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Stasys Usaitis, an eyewitness] About 0600, when I was on my way home I heard the people cleaning the yard say that the neighboring house was surrounded by soldiers. When I came to the neighboring house I saw soldiers and officers, one of them in civilian clothing, dragging a young man by hair down the steps from the third floor [passage omitted]

[L. Katiniene] [passage omited] When we did not answer their knocking they started breaking down the door. They started bashing it, with their rifles and boots and the door was smashed. The area had been already sealed off, we could see this through the window. Soldiers were in the veterinary hospital and under our balcony, everywhere.

When they broke down the door they found him in the wardrobe. They took him to this room, my daughter was held by two soldiers because she was screaming loudly, they held her so that she would not be able to enter the room where my son in law was being beaten behind the locked doors. He was beaten so hard that he screamed. [passage omitted]

All his friends kept saying that it was a shame on his part to remain in the Soviet Army while other friends have refused to serve in it. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Army Officer Examines Problem of Desertion

LD0108143990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] According to Colonel K.G. Golubev, head of the political department at the military commissariat of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic: It is true, the number of young men who have deserted the Soviet Armed Forces is not diminishing. To date 722 young men here in this republic have deserted various units of the Soviet Armed Forces; among them are 94 men who deserted military units deployed in the Baltic Military District. Motives? Motives in the main are not connected with [words indistinct]. This is not so. Namely, it is the consequence of the decision adopted on 11 March in our republic. Therefore, in the main people are leaving the armed forces in response to this demand.

However—the colonel said—young people do not know that they will have to answer the law of the USSR; they took the military oath, namely, to defend the Soviet Union. Therefore, sooner or later they will have to bear the responsibility and there is no doubt that they all will be returned to the military forces sooner or later.

The commander of the military units of the district has issued orders that by 4 August these young men must be back in their military barracks. This concerns these 94 young men who are doing their military service in the Baltic Military District. And if this does not happen, all measures will be taken in order to return them.

Exhaustive measures will be taken. Earlier we only spoke about this, but this time these measures will be implemented in practice. [passage indistinct]

Lawmakers Express 'Concern' at Government Policy

LD0108182890 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn August 1 TASS—A group of Estonian legislators made a statement today, describing the republican government's social and economic policy as an attack on the low living standards of workers and peasants.

The statement's authors, including Deputies Lembit Annus, Viktor Yermolayev and Genik Israelyan, proposed that the presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet discuss the government's activities in the social and economic sphere at parliament's session which will open on August 6.

They also suggested that the legislature take urgent measures to ensure social protection of working people.

The analysis of the economic development in the first half of 1990 shows the deterioration of working people's social and economic position.

Lawmakers stress that many Estonian citizens are concerned over the prospect of the transition to a market economy when low living standards of people and absence of savings prevent them from participating in joint stock societies and private enterprise.

The only commodity most of them have is labour. The establishment of a labour market is caused by the appearance of unemployment and, judging by press reports, programmes drafted in the republic provide for a 35-ruble unemployment benefit which is several times lower than a living subsistance wage.

Legislators express concern that the republican government works out its concepts without studying public opinion.

Toome Interviewed on Estonia's 'Daring' Moves

LD0108173390 Moscow TASS in English 1658 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn August 1 TASS—Even in the current conditions of economic chaos, normal provision of Estonian population and stable work of enterprises could be ensured, said Estonian Deputy Indrek Toome, who headed the republic's government until April 1990.

In an interview with the PAEVALEHT newspaper, Toome reproached his successor Edgar Savisaar with the current Estonian government's orientation towards contacts with the West, rather than with the East.

He believes the confrontation with the Soviet leadership and union department impedes provision of Estonia with all necessary things and the implementation of economic reforms in the republic and hampers its movement towards independence, as Estonia depends on Moscow now and will depend in near future.

The former Estonian prime minister said he was concerned over the unilateral "daring" move by the Estonian government to cut supplies to Union funds and refusals to fulfil the republic's obligations before other Union republics. "Each unilateral move causes retaliatory economic measures that aggravate the situation in the republic," he said.

Toome favoured maintaining the government's control over prices and wages. He said the hikes of prices on a number of foodstuffs, transport fares and the cost of periodicals and the announced growth of prices on other foodstuffs in autumn, resulted in the drop of popularity of the current Government and Prime Minister Savisaar.

Toome considers the absence of a constructive dialogue with the centre on the transfer of Union-run enterprises under the republican control another serious mistake of Savisaar's government.

Estonian Press Summarizes Economic Situation

LD0108193790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Estonian newspapers have reported on a sitting of the republic's government. The results of the first half year were summed up. It was noted that Estonia's economic situation is complicated. The volume of production is decreasing. The shortage of goods is become more profound. Prices have risen. The amount of money in circulation has increased. The standard of living has fallen.

Estonian Price Hikes Causing Public Concern

LD0208012490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2025 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Report by correspondent V. Velman in Estonia, from the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpts] I begin this report from our library with a pile of newspapers in my hands. Each of these newspapers contains protests by public organizations, movements, and individual citizens against the prices policy being implemented in Estonia. [video shows newspaper articles]

In a couple of words the essence of the problem is as follows. The inhabitants of the Estonian Republic are very concerned by the rising cost of living. Recently newspapers produced at the printing depot of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee have gone up to 10 kopecks. From today fares on Tallinn's public transportation have doubled. The prices of fish and fish products have increased. [video shows street scenes and public transportation]

The population has received no compensation in this connection. But this is only the tip of the iceberg. The hidden part is the officially unannounced increased prices of a whole number of foodstuffs and goods including bread. [passage omitted]

In addition to everything a new draft law has been published on personal income tax which is far harsher than the similar verison put forward by the center.

Edgar Savisaar, the head of the Estonian government, has admitted that with the abolition in the republic of the bodies of state control and the prices inspectorate there is now chaos in the economy, which according to him is being taken advantage of by monopoly producers and cooperative swindlers. [passage omitted] [video shows savisaar addressig gathering]

Estonian Soviet Issues Decree on Immigration

90UN2398B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 3 Jul 90 p 2

[Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic "On the Immigration Quota of the Estonian Republic for the Second Half of 1990"]

[Text] In keeping with the Law on Immigration of the Estonian Republic and at the suggestion of the government of the Estonian Republic, the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic hereby decrees:

1. To adopt the suggestion of the government of the Estonian Republic and establish the immigration quota of the Estonian Republic for the second half of 1990 at 782 people, with the following distribution among the republic cities and uyezds:

Cities.

Tallinn—250; Kohtla-Jarve—45; Narva—42; Parnu—30; Sillamae—10; Tartu—57.

Uyezds.

Lyaeneskiy—17; Kharyuskiy—50; Khiyuskiy—6; Yygavaskiy—15; Saareskiy—20; Ida-Viruskiy—24; Yarvaskiy—22; Pylvaskiy—15; Pyarnuskiy—22; Lyayne-Viruskiy—40; Raplaskiy—20; Tartuskiy—15; Valgaskiy—25; Vilyandiskiy—32; Vyruskiy—25.

2. To permit the Department of Migration of the Estonian Republic, if necessary, to refine the immigration quotas of the republic cities and uyezds within the limits of the republic immigration quota with the agreement of their executive organs.

[Signed] A. Ruutel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic
[Dated] Tallinn, 27 June 1990

Estonian 'Law on Immigration' Published

90UN2398A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA in Russian 3 Jul 90 p 2

[Law of the Estonia Republic on Immigration]

[Text]**I. GENERAL PROVISIONS**

Article 1. Objectives of the Law on Immigration.

(1) The Law on Immigration regulates individuals' or families' moving from the USSR and other states to reside in the Estonian republic (henceforth Estonia).

(2) The objective of the present law is to contribute to the preservation and formation of the permanent population of Estonia, the protection of their economic and social rights, the organization of movement for residence in Estonia of people who are closely linked to the Estonian culture, and the ensuring of rational employment and worthy living conditions for people who move to live permanently in Estonia on the basis of the present law without encroaching on the interests of the permanent residents of Estonia.

Article 2. Immigration Quota.

(1) The immigration quota is the maximum number of individuals coming to live in Estonia, established taking into account the proposals of the soviets of the uyezds and republic cities.

(2) The immigration quota, which should not exceed 0.1 percent of the permanent population of Estonia, is established by the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic at the suggestion of the government of the Estonian Republic for each calendar year for the various kinds of immigration and also for the uyezds and republic cities simultaneously with the approval of the Estonian state budget and in keeping with it.

(3) The quota encompasses all who come to live in Estonia with the exception of:

1) individuals who had citizenship in Estonia before 17 June 1940 and their offspring;

2) permanent residents of Estonia who have left or been sent for study, therapy, or work for a particular period of time to the Union republics of the USSR or other countries—for six months after the expiration of the corresponding period of time;

3) permanent residents of Estonia called for compulsory military service—for six months after the expiration of the period of military service;

4) Estonians, regardless of their present place of residence and in keeping with the requirements of points 1, 2, and 3 of Part 2 of Article 15 of the present law;

5) individuals released from places of incarceration who lived permanently in Estonia before committing their crime—for six months after their release.

(4) The Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic has the right to change the quota if this is required by the state interests of the Estonian Republic.

Article 3. Suspending Immigration.

The Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic may limit or suspend immigration if it has resulted in a decline of the proportion of Estonians among the population or if the suspension of immigration is demanded by no less than half of the uyezds soviets and soviets of republic cities of Estonia. The suspension or restriction of immigration does not impede the movement for residence in Estonia of individuals listed in Part 3 of Article 2.

Article 4. The State Department of Migration of the Estonian Republic.

(1) Enforcement of the present law is provided by the government of the Estonian Republic through the State Department of Migration of the Estonian Republic formed by it (henceforth: "Department of Migration").

(2) The Department of Migration in cooperation with the local governments enforces the immigration policy of the Supreme Soviet and the government of the Estonian Republic based on the interests of all the population and immigrants, acting as an intermediary between them.

(3) The Department of Migration, in keeping with the quota established by the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic for the corresponding calendar year, provides for consideration of the applications of all individuals petitioning to immigrate to Estonia and also provides assistance to individuals who have declared a desire to leave Estonia to reside in the USSR or other countries.

II. TYPES OF IMMIGRATION

Article 5. Regulation of Family Migration.

(1) In regulating family migration an influence is exerted on the reuniting of families and the preservation of the integrity of the family.

(2) Immigration to Estonia of children under 16 years of age is permitted only if they are accompanied by their parents or people replacing them or if they are coming to live with them, and here the desires of children 10 years of age an older should be taken into account. For adolescents 16-18 years of age who do not form independent families and wish to settle in Estonia without their parents or individuals replacing them, it is necessary to have the written consent of the parents or individuals replacing them.

(3) While observing the quota one should give preference to minors who come to live with their parents as well as the elderly or parents requiring assistance if they do not have children or guardians outside Estonia.

Article 6. Regulation of Immigration Related to Acquiring an Education.

(1) The basis for planning immigration related to acquiring an education are the agreements between the Estonian Republic and the USSR and other states.

(2) Individuals arriving for training in Estonia should have a certificate or invitation from the educational institution and also a permanent place of residence outside Estonia.

Article 7. Regulation of Migration Related to Employment.

(1) The basis for regulation related to employment is Estonia's need for work force taking into account efficient utilization of available labor resources.

(2) Pendulum migration as a special type of migration related to employment is regulated by Article 11 of the present law.

Article 8. Regulation of Special Migration.

(1) Problems of immigration to Estonia of individuals indicated in Parts 2, 3, and 4 of the present article are resolved within the framework of regulation of special migration.

(2) Problems of settlement in Estonia and the presence in Estonia of personnel of military units of the USSR Armed Forces, and personnel of embassies, consulates, and representations, refugees, and individuals requesting political asylum are regulated by special legislation before the conclusion of agreements between the USSR, individual Union republics, and other states, on the one hand, and the Estonian Republic, on the other.

(3) Former military servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces who have been transferred from active duty into the reserve or retirement whose permanent residence before entering the service of the Armed Forces was outside Estonia and also members of their families may petition for residence in Estonia on a general basis.

(4) In the matter of applying the quota to former military servicemen and their family members when determining preferences it is necessary to take into account the amount of time these individuals have lived in Estonia and the degree of their adaptation.

(5) Individuals released from places of incarceration whose permanent residence before they committed the crime was outside Estonia, as a rule, and not granted permits for residence in Estonia.

III. RESIDENCE PERMITS

Article 9. Issuance of a Residence Permit.

The question of issuing residence permits for all individuals who arrive in Estonia for permanent residence is decided by the Department of Migration.

Article 10. Classification of Residence Permits.

(1) Permits for residence in Estonia are subdivided into temporary, specified-period, and permanent.

(2) A temporary residence permit (for a period of up to six months) is issued to individuals who have come to Estonia out of personal motives to be in Estonia temporarily and a work permit is not issued. A temporary residence permit is issued under the condition that the person applying for it has means to live at least at the subsistence level, which is certified according to the procedure established by the Department of Migration.

A permit is not issued for temporary entry and presence in Estonia for a period of up to one month and for transit through Estonia for the same period of time. Entry and transit are regulated by the border service system of the Estonian Republic.

(3) A specified-period permit is issued to individuals who have a written contract for work or other activity in Estonia for a period of up to three years. Individuals included on the student rolls of educational institutions (pupils, course members, students, and others) are issued a specified-period residence permit for the entire period of active study.

(4) A permanent residence permit is issued to individuals involved with Estonian culture or who have a specialty or high qualifications especially needed by Estonia, and this contributes to the immigration to Estonia of citizens of the Estonian Republic, their offspring, and also ethnic Estonians.

(5) An individual living permanently outside Estonia after marrying an individual who lives permanently inside Estonia upon the first application is issued a specified-period permit for residence for a period of six months; upon the second application—for a specified period of residence of six months; and upon the third application—and specified-period permit for residence

for a period of four years. Upon the expiration of this period and under the condition that the individual has gone through the adaptation period successfully, upon joint application with his spouse the individual is issued a permanent residence permit. The residence permit issued after marriage is included in the quota one time.

Article 11. Cases When a Residence Permit Is Not Required.

Pendulum migration in the border zones of Estonia is regulated with the mediation of local government organs and with their consent, but without issuing a residence permit, in keeping with the procedure established by the government of the Estonian Republic.

Article 12. Special Cases for Issuing Residence Permits.

(1) An individual whose residence permit has expired but who wishes to stay and live in Estonia after the expiration of his work contract may apply for a new specified-period or permanent residence permit on a general basis.

(2) Members of families of military servicemen (Part 2 of Article 8) (husband, wife, children needing care, and parents) are issued a specified-period permit on the basis of their application on the corresponding form.

Article 13./ Restrictions on Temporary and Specified-Period Residence Permits.

The place of residence in Estonia of an individual applying for temporary or specified-period residence may be either the place of work or training of the applicant or the place of residence of his close relative, with the agreement of the local self-government organ.

Article 14. Residence Permits for Individuals Who Have Committed an Administrative Legal Violation or a Crime.

The question of recognizing the validity of a temporary or specified-period permit of an individual who has committed an administrative legal violation or a crime is considered and resolved by the Department of Migration in keeping with the procedure established by it.

Article 15. Issuance, Revocation, and Annulment of a Residence Permit and State Customs.

(1) Residence permits are issued, revoked, and annulled by the Department of Migration.

(2) The bases for issuance of residence permits are:

1) an application from the individual on the established form;

2) the agreement of the local government organ for a specific individual to live on its administrative territory and also a certificate of provision of dwelling space for him and certification that he has money to live on or a proposed source for this money;

3) a health certificate for the individual which should contain information to the effect that he does not have dangerous infectious diseases and information about his psychological condition;

4) in the event that the individual marries an individual living permanently in Estonia—a certificate on the established form issued by the organ for registration of vital records.

In order to justify its decisions the Department of Migration, if necessary, has the right to demand additional documents from the applicant.

(3) A residence permit for Estonia is not issued to individuals arriving in Estonia (with the exception of individuals indicated in Part 3 of Article 2 of the present law) who have committed a premeditated crime, individuals considered under the law to be chronic alcoholics or drug addicts, malicious violators of labor discipline, and also mentally ill people, people suffering from chronic infectious diseases, and people who because of their physical condition are unable to provide for their own care and maintenance (if they do not have a guardian in Estonia).

(4) The term of the residence permit may be reduced on the initiative of the person holding the residence permit, and for individuals holding a temporary or specified-period residence permit—also in keeping with the procedure established by Article 14 of the present law.

(5) A residence permit is annulled on the basis of Part 4 of Article 17 and Part 2 of Article 21 of the present law.

(6) Upon expiration of the term of the residence permit, in the event that is has been revoked or annulled ahead of time, and also with respect to individuals spending more than a month in Estonia without a residence permit, the Department of Migration issues a mandatory order for the individual to leave Estonia.

(7) The procedure for issuing, revoking, or annulling residence permits and issuing orders to leave Estonia is established by the government of the Estonian Republic. The amounts of the state duties are established by law.

IV. PERMISSION FOR EMPLOYMENT

Article 16. Cases Where Permission for Employment is Not Required.

An individual with a permanent residence permit (Part 4 of Article 10 of the present law) is not obliged to have permission for employment.

Article 17. Issuance of a Revocation of Employment Permission.

(1) Permission for employment is granted under the policy established by the government of the Estonian Republic.

(2) If an individual has a specified-term residence permit, he receives permission for employment for a

specified term of up to three years to work at a particular enterprise, institution, or organization.

(3) An individual in residence on the basis of permission for employment for a specified period must have a permanent residence outside Estonia unless otherwise established by international agreements.

(4) Early cancellation of a work contract with an enterprise, institution, or organization indicated in the permission for employment is accompanied by an annulment of the permission to work for a specified period and the specified-period residence permit.

(5) An individual who works in the border zone of Estonia under the conditions of pendulum migration and lives outside Estonia may be issued permanent permission to work unless otherwise established by the corresponding local government organs.

V. RENDERING ASSISTANCE TO MIGRANTS

Article 18. Assistance in the Adaptation of Individuals Immigrating to Estonia.

(1) The government of the Estonian Republic takes measures to render assistance in adaptation to local conditions by individuals who have received a residence permit and, in conjunction with the local government organs, cultural autonomy associations, and social organizations, organizes a system of courses and training programs in the Estonian language, culture, history, and state structure for individuals who have received a residence permit.

(2) Expenses involved in the adaptation of an individual who has received a permanent or specified-term residence permit are paid by the organization, enterprise, institution, or private individual who applied for his resettlement to Estonia.

(3) The conditions for going through the period of adaptation are determined by the government of the Estonian Republic.

Article 19. Individuals Moving Out (Emigration).

(1) The Department of Migration in conjunction with other interested departments must register all individuals leaving Estonia who wish to retain their status as a permanent resident of Estonia in the event that they are gone for more than six months and affirm this within the periods established by the Department of Migration.

(2) In the event that they move from Estonia by their own wishes, questions related to benefits granted to those who move are regulated by agreements concluded with the central organs of the USSR or individual Union republics or other states with the assistance of organizations that protect the rights of citizens, based on the desire and the right of the person who is moving to freely chose his place of residence.

Article 20. The Fund for Aid to Settlers.

For purposes of rendering aid to settlers in Estonia and, if necessary, individuals who are leaving Estonia, special budget capital is created—the State Migration Fund of Estonia, whose property and funds are formed from deductions from the state budget and funds from associations of cultural autonomies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and also private individuals who initiate the settlement of individuals.

The procedure for creating the fund is established by the government of the Estonian Republic.

VI. ORGANIZATION OF INFORMATION

Article 21. Collection and Transmission of Information About Immigration.

(1) The Department of Migration must familiarize people who are coming to live and work in Estonia with the rights and responsibilities ensuing from the present law before they are issued the corresponding permits.

(2) The presentation of false information by an individual who comes to Estonia to live or work entails a refusal to issue the residence permit and permission for employment or an annulment of these.

(3) Individuals who have received a residence permit are entered into the population register.

(4) The Department of Migration keeps track of individuals who have received a temporary or specified-period residence permits and, before the creation of the register of the population, individuals who have received a permanent residence permit.

Article 22. Obligations of Enterprises, Institutions, and Organizations to the Department of Migration.

In order to avoid encroaching on the rights of individuals and for purposes of rendering prompt assistance to individuals with temporary or specified-period residency permits or permission for employment, enterprises, institutions, and organizations that deal with the aforementioned individuals must inform the Department of Migration within 10 days:

1) employers—concerning early dissolution of the work contract;

2) educational institutions—concerning the expulsion of students, the completion or curtailment of training, or the transfer to another educational institution;

3) law enforcement organs—concerning all legal violations within their field competence committed by an individual who has received a residence permit or permission for employment or involving this individual, and also concerning court orders changing the family situation of an individual with a residence permit;

4) civil records organs—concerning changes in the family situation of an individual who has received a residence permit;

5) local government organs—concerning early departure from their administrative territory of individuals with a specified-period residence permit.

VII. OTHER LEGAL QUESTIONS RELATED TO IMMIGRATION

Article 23. Obligations of Individuals Arriving in Estonia.

(1) If an individual who arrives in Estonia stays for a prolonged period of time (more than one month) he must apply in writing to the ispolkom [executive committee] of the uyezd or republic city for a residence permit.

(2) The corresponding local government organ must consider this application within a month of the day it is submitted and give the Department of Migration its written consent to fill out the residence permit or a justified refusal.

(3) An individual arriving in Estonia must observe the laws in effect in Estonia, respect the Estonian national traditions, and recognize the right of the Estonian nation to self-determination.

Article 24. Real Estate Operations and Agreements for Leasing Housing.

(1) Real estate in Estonia (with the exception of property for production purposes) may be acquired through purchase, sale, or exchange only by an individual with a permanent residence permit in Estonia.

(2) The acquisition of real estate in Estonia or real estate transferred on the basis of a gift agreement does not provide any advantages when applying for a permanent residence permit.

(3) Leasing contracts for housing in Estonia may be concluded only with individuals with a residence permit.

(4) Only individuals with a permanent residence permit in Estonia may be accepted as members of housing, dacha, gardening, and garage cooperatives.

Article 25. Liability for Violating the Immigration Law.

Individuals guilty of violating the present law are held liable in keeping with the policy established by legislation of the Estonian Republic.

Article 26. Resolution of Disputes.

Disagreements arising from the application of the present law, in cases stipulated by legislation in effect in the Estonian Republic, are resolved through judicial procedure.

Article 27. Procedure for Applying the Law on Immigration.

(1) When the Law on Immigration goes into effect, legislative acts in effect in the Estonian Republic are valid to the extent that they do not contradict the present law.

(2) The present law goes into effect on 1 July 1990.

(3) The present law is not retroactive.

[Signed] A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic
[Dated] Tallinn, 26 June 1990

RSFSR

Russian Press, Information Minister Views Tasks

OW0108063890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Report on Mikhail Nikiforovich Poltoranin, RSFSR press and information minister; from the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] We now would like to introduce you to one of the new political figures of Russia—Minister for the Press and Information Poltoranin. [video shows Poltoranin arriving at his office]

The Russian minister for the press and mass information is 50 years old. At the beginning of his career, he worked as a concrete layer at the Bratsk GRES [State Regional Electric Power Station]. He then studied at Kazakh State University and worked on newspapers. The new minister is not a member of any political party. Along with members of the Russian government, he has submitted his resignation from the CPSU.

We have gotten used to seeing people who move into ministerial positions loudly promising to develop, to perfect, and of course to fundamentally restructure. Mikhail Nikiforovich has a different task. He must establish the material base for Russian glasnost and create it from practically nothing. In this cause, however, Mikhail Nikiforovich has many assistants from among the Russian deputies and simply from among people working for newspapers and television. [video shows Poltoranin answering a telephone call passed to him by a secretary]

There is much to do and he has had to forget about his recreation. Yet previously he used to spend his vacations rafting with friends on rivers in the Altay Mountains and Siberia. He built a dacha with his own hands on 600 [words indistinct] (?near Minsk) with help from members of his family, his wife and two sons. Mikhail Nikiforovich now is so busy that he hardly sees his family. Next Saturday, however, he will have to set aside his state duties to attend the wedding of his son, a mining institute student. After that, it will be back to the job. [video shows Poltoranin seated at his desk]

[Begin Poltoranin recording] Today we must set up television operations. The Russian Supreme Soviet has decided to establish a Russian information agency and we are working on this. We must begin publishing the daily newspaper ROSSIYSKIY VESTNIK and a weekly paper, as well as begin several magazines. The main task

is to help set up regional newspapers that, as you know, do not always find themselves operating in a normal situation. [end recording]

Harvest Transport Shortfall Noted in Orenburg

LD0208095390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Summary] In Orenburg Oblast, the average grain yield prior to threshing is 25.3 quintals per ha. Individual areas are producing 30, 35, or even 40 quintals per ha—unprecedented levels for the region. However, the rural population has fallen over the years and farmers are now even less able to gather in the harvest than before. Despite promises of help from the towns, only half of the workers expected from Orenburg and one-third of those to be sent from Orsk have actually arrived in the fields. Transport was to have been provided by Moscow and Leningrad, but there is a shortfall of some 400 vehicles from Moscow and the Leningraders are letting us down too. The grain that is being lost as a result will have to be compensated through foreign currency purchases on the world market.

North Osetia Bans Export of Consumer Goods

LD0208103990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Vladikavkaz: With the aim of halting the removal of foodstuffs, consumer goods, footwear, fabrics, and detergents in large quantities outside the borders of the autonomous republic, which is having a negative effect on the supplies of them to the population, the Council of Ministers of the North Osetian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] today issued a directive restricting the removal of goods outside the borders of North Osetia. The Ministry of Trade of North Osetia and the consumer union have been instructed to organize the reception of detained goods, payment of their value at state prices and marketing according to the rules of sales of goods in short supply.

Stavropol Silos Full, Railcar Shortage Reported

PM2607152590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Report by P. Guskov and S. Shevchenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Our grain from the new harvest is still in local silos. A report from Stavropol.

[Reporter] The harvest in Stavropol continues. But the main event of the current harvest happened here yesterday. "Vremya" has already reported on this and now the kray newspaper has reported it. Stavropol's crop farmers have delivered more than 1.9 million tonnes of grain to the state. The state order has been fulfilled. It is mainly strong and valuable wheat. The main concern today is the concern of those working at the grain silos. How do you feel about the grain? Quite happy?

[A.N. Mustonov, deputy director of the Grachevskiy grain silo] No. Our situation is extremely strained because of the shortage of railcars. Without these cars we can possibly keep going for three days, then we'll have to start storing the grain in the open.

[V.N. Romanov, chairman of the Novoaleksandrovskiy Rayon Soviet] Our problem is probably more complex because these people here can keep going for another three days. We have been filling the silos for three days and we simply have nowhere to put the grain. The drivers are suggesting that we knock holes in the sides of the silos to let the grain spread out onto the roads and spur tracks. We have not only filled the threshing floors at collective and state farms with grain, we have been filling garages and airstrip runways. And the farms intend to provide more and more grain. Even though we are working round the clock, our drivers are working two shifts, and we've spread out the grain delivery schedule as much as we can so as to ease the pressure on the silos, there are no railcars—nobody's getting any railcars. Moreover, those railcars that we have loaded up and dispatched are not returned to us.

Western Republics

Ukraine Parliament Passes Bill on Chernobyl

Wants Chernobyl Station Closed

LD0108183990 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 1 Aug 90

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Stanislav Volnyanskiy]

[Text] Kiev August 1 TASS—The Ukrainian parliament today passed a bill on urgent measures to protect people in the republic from the effects of the disastrous Chernobyl accident.

It demanded that the government take a fundamentally new approach to this task, creating an efficient management system to oversee the clean up and coordinate related activities by scientific, medical, economic and other agencies.

The Supreme Soviet also instructed the government to work out, by next November, a concept for safe living in contaminated regions and make corresponding changes to the existing long-term programme for dealing with the Chernobyl aftermath.

The parliament, which wants the Chernobyl nuclear power station to be shut down, bound the government to draw up, by year's end, an energy programme that will set a ceiling on the share of nucler power in the combined energy budget of the Ukraine.

The programme should take account of proposals for a moratorium on developing the nuclear power industry in the Ukraine and prospects for phasing out reactors currently on stream.

Citizens To Be Protected

LD0108183390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] The session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet today adopted a decision on urgent measures to protect the citizens of the Ukraine from the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe.

The document points out that 1.8 million of the republic's citizens over an area of 36,500 square kilometers have been subjected to these consequences.

Previous work by the republic's Council of Ministers and its Academy of Sciences in this sphere is deemed insufficient. It has been decided to create a State Committee on questions relating to the Chernobyl catastrophe and invest it with broad powers. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences has been instructed to form a corresponding research subdepartment. A broad program of urgent measures is planned, particularly to ensure safe living conditions in areas of radioactive contamination and to implement the priority resettlement of 30,000 persons from the most dangerous areas.

There are provisions for the construction of roads in the contaminated areas, the supply of gas to populated localities, the restructuring there of the healthcare system and provision for the production of pure foodstuffs for the inhabitants.

About 17 billion rubles is being allocated for the whole complex of planned measures. The Ukraine is being proclaimed an ecological disaster zone. In this connection, the allocation of land to the enterprises and organizations of other republics is being suspended and organized resettlement into the Ukraine's territory is being prohibited.

Ukrainian Party Congress Agenda Noted

90UN2356B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed report "On the 28th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party"]

[Text] Elections for the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee were concluded late on the evening of 22 June at the congress.

As a result of secret voting on a competitive basis, S.I. Gurenko, working as Central Committee second secretary, was elected first secretary of the Central Committee, member of the Central Committee, and Politburo member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Nomination and discussion of candidates to the Central Committee and Auditing Commission of the Ukrainian Communist Party also took place.

This concluded the evening session of the congress.

On 23 June the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress continued its work.

The congress adopted the Resolution on the Report of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Also adopted was the Resolution on the Report of the Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission.

Z.V. Kuravskiy, chairman of the commission for drawing up the draft resolution "On the Draft CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress—'Toward Humane, Democratic Socialism,'" gave the committee presentation. The resolution was adopted following discussion and insertion of changes.

Ye.V. Mironov, chairman of the commission for drawing up the draft resolution "On the Draft CPSU Rules," made his committee's presentation. The resolution was adopted with amendments and additions.

The congress heard information presented by L.M. Kravchuk, chairman of the commission for drawing up the draft resolution of the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress on Program Principles of Activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party and adopted the resolution on this matter.

An appropriate resolution was adopted in accordance with the report of Ye.V. Marmazov, chairman of the commission for drawing up the draft resolution of the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress on the draft Ukrainian Communist Party Rules.

V.I. Redka, party committee secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Experimental Plant for Polymer Engineering, presented a statement from the conference of secretaries of primary party organizations.

At this time R.B. Bodelan, chairman of the congress Secretariat, delivered a report on letters and statements received from workers, on appeals to be resolved by local party organs, and on receiving citizens. The report was taken into consideration.

The congress adopted resolutions "On the State Sovereignty of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," "On the Youth Policy of the Ukrainian Communist Party," and "For the Rebirth of the Ukrainian Village;" the declaration "On Elimination of the Aftereffects of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant Accident and Protection of the Population From Their Influence;" and the appeal "On the Path Toward Harmonizing the Mutual Interaction of Society and Nature" directed to the government, Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Academy of Sciences, labor collectives, workers at treatment centers, and the population of the republic.

The Appeal of the 28th Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party to Communists of the Republic was adopted.

The Congress elected the Central Committee and Auditing Commission of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

Congress participants expressed their gratitude to V.A. Ivashko for his work in the post of first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and wished him success in his work as chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The concluding comments were made by S.I. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Congress delegates sang the party anthem, the "International."

This ended the first phase in the work of the congress.

Order Calls for Ukrainian Trade Union's Creation

904F0212A Moscow TRUD in Russian 11 Jul 90 p 2

[Report by M. Novik with comment by S. Yevtushenko, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Republic Trade Union Council: "Alternative by Order. The Department Leaders Ordered a Trade Union To Be Created"]

[Text] "We will create a new trade union for you," so said S. Litvinenko, in his pre-election program. He is the chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Republic Union of Consumers' Societies and is now running for the mandate of USSR people's deputy. And...he gave the corresponding instructions to the local areas.

The "fathers" of the consumer cooperative movement in the oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] were not slow to carry out their boss's instructions. For example, this telegram went out to the rayons from the Kherson Oblast consumers' union: "Hold an emergency meeting in the labor collectives on 2-3 July and adopt a resolution to create a branch committee of the trade union of workers in consumers' cooperative societies." A telegram with the following content was to be sent to the republic committee of the trade union of workers in state trade: "Taking into account the demands of the cooperators and the lack of proper attention being paid to their needs by the trade union obkom [oblast party committee], the labor collective... has decided to withdraw from the oblast trade union committee on 2-3 July and has ordered that a branch committee of the trade union of the consumers' cooperative societies be created. Beginning in July of this year union dues will not be paid to the trade union obkom. The minutes of meeting No.... From ..., Chairman of the meeting of the labor collective..."

And here are the instructions for the Transcarpathian Oblast consumers' union—verbatim: "In connection with the restoration of consumers' cooperative societies and cooperative democracy and with the goal of strengthening the social protection of cooperative workers who are members of the trade union under the conditions of the changeover of cooperation to the mechanism of the market economy, the board of the oblast consumers' union orders:

"at trade union meetings of consumers' societies, farms, and enterprises of the system of consumers' cooperative societies to consider questions of creating an independent trade union for workers in consumers' cooperative societies;

"to send officials of the oblast consumers' union from 2 through 5 July of this year to consumers' societies, organizations, and enterprises of the system in order to render practical assistance to them with this issue as provided for in the appendix;

"to make to organizational administration of the oblast consumers' union responsible for checking on implementation of this order."

S. Yevtushenko, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Republic Trade Union Council, comments on this situation.

"The reports on the actions taken by the leaders of the oblast boards of consumers' societies on orders 'from above' initially caused confusion in the Ukrainian Trade Union Council. But when we in the labor collectives received copies of the directive telegrams, the issue became tragicomical. The economic leaders are trying arbitrarily to create a trade union that will suit them. Where does this administrative-command urge come from all of a sudden?

"Workers of the republic are firmly and resolutely in favor of consolidation, unity of actions, and strengthening of cooperation of territorial and branch structures and for the creation of a federation of Ukrainian trade unions in keeping with new principles. And under these conditions the departmental zeal of the leaders of consumers' cooperative societies for organizing a 'puppet' trade union cannot be regarded as anything other than a desire to split the trade union movement. And this is how the workers in the consumers' cooperative societies themselves assess this situation."

Oblast Union Bodies Assail New Union Idea

904F0212B Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Jul 90 p 1

[Report from the press center of the Ukrainian Trade Union Council: "Preserving Unity"]

[Text] **On 11 April of this year TRUD published an article entitled "Alternative by Order," which discussed the fact that, on the initiative of S. Litvinenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Republic Union of Consumers' Societies, leaders of the oblast consumers' unions were given instructions to create "their own" trade union. Below are a couple of telegrams out of the large number that were sent to the Ukrainian Trade Union Council.**

Donetsk. "The obkom [oblast party committee] of the trade union of workers in state trade and consumers' cooperative societies expresses a protest against the forms and methods of solving the problem of creating an independent trade union of workers in consumers' cooperative societies in the Ukraine by consumers' union leaders."

Lvov. "The trade union obkom announces that the board of the Lvov Oblast consumers' union is applying pressure and despotism in performing functions that do not properly belong to it—convening a constituent trade union conference of workers in consumers' cooperative societies."

Ivano-Frankovsk. "The trade union aktiv (chairmen of trade union committees) in consumers' cooperative societies in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast...expresses its disagreement with the activity of the economic leaders aimed at splitting a unified trade union."

The general meeting of the collective of the Khmelnitsy automotive enterprise of the production association of automotive enterprises of oblast consumers' union: "We think that only together, only in unity will we be able to overcome the difficulties that are afflicting us at the present time."

Similar telegrams came from other oblasts as well.. The sense of all of them was the same: Do not allow a split in the trade union of workers in state trade and consumers' cooperative societies and condemn the despotic behavior of the administrator.

Lenin Monument Removed; Procuracy Objects

LD0108183490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In Chervonograd, Lvov Oblast [Ukraine], a monument to Lenin, which stood in the town's central square, was taken down today. A decision to this effect was made by an emergency session of the town soviet of people's deputies. The session also instructed the executive committee to take down a monument to Marx before August.

In connectin with this, the oblast procurator's office made a representation to the Lvov Oblast soviet of people's deputies and Chervonograd town soviet of people's deputies raising the question of rescinding this illegal decision.

Registration of Ukrainian Citizens Under Way

LD0108214890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2025 GMT 1 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] According to a report from the Committees for Citizens of the Ukraine and of alternative bodies of authority, which are being set up by representatives of informal organizations, the active registration of citizens of the Ukrainian People's Republic is continuing.

Reportage on Changing of Ukrainian Time Zone

Change Causing Confusion

90UN2341B Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 11 Jul 90 p 4

[Article by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondent in Kharkov N. Belov: "What Time Is It?"]

[Text] After 1 July the residents of the eastern Ukraine will pronounce this phrase with a questioning and not very warm intonation in their voice.

The problem is that the hands of the clock will be turned back one hour—closer to European time—across the entire territory of the republic by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. Deputies from the western Ukraine demanded this especially insistently.

The decision was made at one stroke under the belief that if things do not work out with meat, sausage, and the communal farm, at least time is dependent on man and can be moved in any direction.

And they moved it. And now general confusion has set in.

"Donetsk and Lugansk have decided to wait until 1 October. Tens of thousands of workers travel to enterprises on electric trains, and the railway schedules have not been changed." I was told this by V. Khaustov, secretary of the Kharkov Obkom [oblast party committee]. Even he, a party leader, has had to take part in settling conflicts related to the transition to the new "Kiev" time.

And there were and are many conflicts. In the interests of arbitration the Kharkov Oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] decided to move the work times of all enterprises and consumer services backward along with the hands of the clock. Whereas before, the children, on whose behalf the changes were made, were getting up at 0700, now they are forced to rise at 0600 so their parents can get to work at 0700 and earlier.

Attempts to please both the legislators and the industrial workers are not cheap. Now the sun rises in Kharkov at almost 0400 by "Kiev" time and gazes down from the skies: "Where are the workers? Why are they sleeping?" And it has begun to grow dark so early that the night load on the electric train has grown significantly.

Signs have appeared in the stores just as at the railway stations: "Moscow time." In the confusion which has arisen each has begun to choose the most convenient time for himself. Late arrivers at the factories have already signed mountains of explanatory notes. Others purposely, citing the Supreme Soviet decree, go off to work on "Kiev" time but leave work, of course, along with the rest.

People justly believe that the initiators of the transition to "their own" time were not at all concerned with the children's sleep. Someone wanted to drive even a small wedge between the republic and the center. They say that even if it is costly and inconvenient, at least it is our own.

Adjustment Explained

90UN2341A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 22 Jun 90 p 2

[Release by the Information Department of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic: "A New System for Calculating the Time"]

[Text] As the press has already reported, our republic's Supreme Soviet has passed a ruling to change the time zone on the territory of the Ukraine. To execute this ruling, the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] has decreed that at 0200 on 1 July the hands of the clock will be moved one hour backward.

"It is a question of repealing the so-called edict time introduced in 1930 by decision of the USSR Council of People's Commissars over the whole territory of the country," explained V.G. Urchukin, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. "At that time the hands of the clock were moved an hour forward everywhere. Then the introduction in 1980 of 'daylight saving time' put us off astronomical time by a whole two hours. As experience has shown, such an early beginning to the day is not entirely favorable for the human organism, especially children's, particularly in the western oblasts of our republic."

As we know, the movement of railway, air, naval, and interrepublic automobile transport, as well as intercity telephone and telegraph communications, will be carried out according to Moscow time. Taking this into account, the government of the republic has charged the directors of the railroads together with the oblast and city soviet executive committees, enterprises, and organizations to coordinate the movement of trains with the work of the enterprises by 1 July 1990, and the enterprises are to introduce counterproposals to ensure that this is convenient for workers who live outside the city but work in the cities and use rail transport and to ensure that the production rhythm of industry is not disrupted.

"Daylight saving time" is used by 12 countries in the world—members of the European Economic Community, the United States, Canada, and our neighbors Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland, as well as others. Practically all European countries use a single "daylight saving time." This allows them to make rational use of energy resources as well as to coordinate transport links. "Daylight saving time" is remaining, and this fall we will decide whether we will continue to use it in agreement with the European Economic Commission of the United Nations, which annually approves the introduction of "daylight saving time."

Patriarch Aleksiy of Moscow Visits Ukraine

LD2707214290 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 27 Jul 90

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Stanislav Volnyanskiy]

[Text] Kiev July 27 TASS—His Holiness Aleksiy, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, arrived in the Ukrainian capital today. He was met at the Kiev Railway terminal by Filaret, metropolitan of Kiev and Galich, exarch to the Ukraine, and members of the synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

This is the first visit of the new head of the Russian Orthodox Church to the Ukraine. He is expected to stay there for about two weeks. A program of the visit includes his participation in a service at the Vladimir Cathedral in the Kiev-Pechersky Lavra, named after Prince Vladimir, a Russian saint, and visits to the Pokrovsky and Frolovsky nunneries. His Holiness Patriarch Aleksiy will officiate at a liturgy in the St. Trinity Cathedral in Chernigov, will attend festivities in honour of Reverend Serafim Sarovsky in Zhitomir, and festivities in honour of Iliya the prophet in Lutsk. He will also officiate at a moleben in the Rovno Cathedral.

Festivities at the Pochaevsky Lavra on the occasion of the 750th anniversary of its foundation will be the culmination of the visit.

Ukraine Releases Statistics on Health

LD2907202190 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 29 Jul 90

[Text] According to the latest press release of Ukraine's State Committee for Statistics, over ten years, from 1981 to 1990, the number of people suffering in our republic from malignant tumors increased by 119,000. While in 1980, 74,800 people left our cruel world as a result of this illness, in 1989 this figure was already 99,300. The highest increase by 40-54 percent, in comparison with 1980, is to be found in Volyn, Poltava, Zhitomir, Chernigov, Rovno, and Khmelnitskiy Oblasts.

Repeat Elections Continue in Belorussia

90UN2397A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 29 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed report published under the general rubric "Choice and Elections"]

[Text] **In the Central Commission for Elections of Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] People's Deputies**

Repeat elections for Belorussian SSR people's deputy took place on 23 June 1990 in Loyevskiy Electoral District No. 217. Aleksandr Konstantinovich Malakhovskiy ran for candidate in that district. Of the 26,701 people registered on the list of voters, 22,975 or 86.5

percent took part in the voting. Of them, 21,973 or 95.6 percent cast their vote in favor of the candidate for deputy.

On the basis of Article 53 of the Law on Elections, the Central Commission for Elections of Belorussian SSR People's Deputies registered Aleksandr Konstantinovich Malakhovskiy, excavator operator with the mobile mechanized column No. 38 and member of the CPSU living in the urban community of Loyev, as Belorussian SSR people's deputy for Loyevskiy Electoral District No. 217.

Appeal to Voters From the Central Commission for Elections of Belorussian SSR People's Deputies

Dear comrades!

The new personnel of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet have already been working for a month and a half. The people's deputies which have been invested with your trust are deciding fateful questions concerning the life of the republic. The laws they adopt today and tomorrow will predetermine its political, economic, and social development for years and decades to come. In other words, the fate of each of us is for the most part being decided through our representatives in the highest organ of state power. We believe that no one can be indifferent to this.

In the meantime a number of electoral districts still do not have representatives in the republic's highest organ of state power. The electoral campaign continues. The fact that it is drawn out is primarily the result of a clear politicization of society that has arisen from the processes of perestroyka, and as a result there is heated competition among aspirants to deputy's posts when no one of them is able to show a clear advantage. On the other hand, organization of the electoral campaign and agitation for the candidates for deputy have not been at their proper level in every case.

The next repeat elections of Belorussian SSR people's deputies will take place on Saturday, 30 June, in the 16 electoral districts listed below. The Central Commission expresses the hope that the district and precinct electoral commissions, the local organs of power, and society will create all the necessary conditions to bring them to a result. But in the end they will depend on you, respected voters, and on whether you come to the electoral precincts and cast your vote for the candidate you consider worthy of representing your interests in the republic's Supreme Soviet.

The democratic electoral system which perestroyka has given us is a huge political victory of our society. Do not neglect your electoral right. Much depends on your vote, because the sum of such votes as yours will decide who will pass the laws by which we live, work, and build the future. We call upon you to come to the electoral precincts on 30 June and carry out your patriotic civic duty. At the same time we remind you that according to changes introduced by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet to the Law on Elections, voting will be conducted from 0600 to 2200 and not from 0700 to 2000 as before.

Electoral Districts Which Will Conduct Repeat Elections of Belorussian SSR People's Deputies on 30 June

Minsk
Mayakovskiy Electoral District No. 2
Grushevskiy Electoral District No. 14
Golubevskiy Electoral District No. 16
Aeroflotskiy Electoral District No. 20
Volgogradskiy Electoral District No. 28
Kalinovskiy Electoral District No. 29
Gorkovskiy Electoral District No. 37
Lunacharskiy Electoral District No. 38

Brest Oblast
Brestskiy-Vostochnyy Electoral District No. 104

Vitebsk Oblast
Vitebskiy-Pervomayskiy Electoral District No. 184

Gomel Oblast
Gomelskiy-Oktyabrskiy Electoral District No. 195

Grodno Oblast
Grodnenskiy-Gorkovskiy Electoral District No. 238
Grodnenskiy-Suvorovskiy Electoral District No. 242
Zelvenskiy Electoral District No. 253
Berezovskiy Electoral District No. 260

Mogilev Oblast
Bobruyskiy-Berezinskiy Electoral District No. 285

Caucasus

Armenian Debate Continues Over Weapons Decree

MVD Spokesman Details Seizure

PM3107161590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by B. Vasilyev, USSR MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) press service staffer, under the "Careful, Weapons!" rubric: "Arsenal Under Haystack"]

[Text] Despite the promulgation of the presidential Decree on the Banning of the Creation of Armed Formations Not Envisaged under USSR Legislation and the Seizure of Weapons Held Unlawfully, Armenian armed formations have not started to hand over their weapons. Moreover, armed attacks with the aim of seizing weapons are continuing.

On 29 July in the city of Kirovakan, for example, six armed men penetrated the "Rubin" Plant and, threatening to use their weapons, seized a rifle, a Tokarev pistol, two Nagant revolvers, and a large number of rounds from the paramilitary security guards' armory. In Sisiyanskiy Rayon, by the village of Sarnakul, a group armed with automatic weapons and grenades attacked a highway patrol vehicle carrying militiamen returning

from summer pastures where they had been on duty and seized a carbine and two pistols.

More than 70 instances of attacks upon internal affairs organs aimed at stealing weapons have been recorded altogether in Armenia in 1990. A shortfall of 870 weapons and more than one-third of a million rounds has been detected in the country as a whole. According to USSR MVD statistics the number of violent crimes involving the use of firarms has risen this current year by 50 percent, reaching 3,400.

Resolute measures to prevent the theft of weapons and to seize those held illegally are now being taken. The operation of more than 33,000 facilities of various sorts has been terminated or suspended because of poor storage security and faulty alarms. Some 1,800 officials have been brought to account for breach of the procedure pertaining to the storage, registering, transportation, and use of weapons.

A considerable quantity of arms is being confiscated from the population. On 28 July, for example, in the city of Pyatigorsk, Stavropol Kray, a certain S., a local inhabitant and worker at Construction Administration No. 21, was arrested by the militia. A cache of 56,000 small-bore rounds, 22,000 other rounds, a foreign-made revolver, two pistols, a sawn-off small-bore rifle, a telescopic sight, four air rifles, and other arms previously stolen by him from a shooting range were discovered under a barn in a field near the village of Yutsa, Predgorniy Rayon.

The detained has stated that he collected the weapons out of pure interest and had no intention of using them. The investigation now under way will establish the truthfulness of his testimony.

Parliament Discusses Decree

PM0108134990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Bablumyan and Viktor Litovkin: "USSR Presidential Decree Discussed"]

[Text] Yerevan—A session of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet 30 July held a stormy discussion on the decree of the country's President "On Prohibiting the Creation of Armed Formations Not Provided for by USSR Legislation and Removing Weapons Where They Are Illegally Held."

The main idea in many deputies' speeches was that any legislative enactment by the USSR President can enter into force on the republic's territory only after approval by the Armenian Supreme Soviet. The deputies deem it inexpedient to extend the operation of the decree in question to the republic's territory. Many deputies made the point that the decree's implementation must not entail a selectivity that would place different regions of the country in unequal conditions.

Point one of the draft Armenian Supreme Soviet resolution now under heated discussion suggests suspending the operation of the USSR presidential decree on the territory of the Armenian SSR and Nagorno-Karabakh.

The session is continuing discussion of the resolution.

MVD Minister Urges Suspension

PM0108190090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondents S. Bablumyan and V. Litovkin from Yerevan under the general heading "Weapons Must Not Be Fired"]

[Text] After several days of warm weather, it is comparatively cool in Yerevan, but the situation in the city, as in the whole of the republic, remains tense.

The MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] reports and the latest military information testify to continuing attacks on the militia, armed guards at enterprises, and vehicles. As a rule, the purpose is the same—to obtain weapons.

There was a firefight between two opposing armed groups in Artashat. There were attacks on several rayon militia departments. At Yerevan's Myasnikyanskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, a senior lieutenant of militia was seized, but later released.

These and other instances of the unlawful use of weapons were spoken of by L. Galstyan, Armenian minister of internal affairs, at a session of the republic Supreme Soviet. He stated that there are forces in the republic that do not want order to prevail or the law to be observed. At the same time he added that the ministry has adopted a decision to renew the republic's militia, including the leadership of rayon departments.

The minister also called on deputies to support the proposal to suspend the operation of the Soviet president's 25 July decree and to write him a letter informing the country's leader that Armenia's law enforcement organs and its Supreme Soviet will themselves deal with the task of imposing order by peaceful means.

The president's decree on disarming and disbanding illegal armed formations is being discussed heatedly not only in parliament, but, you could say, in every Armenian home. People doubt that it can be fulfilled bloodlessly, by peaceful means, in the present situation.

The newspaper KOMMUNIST, the organ of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, has published a long interview with Vazgen I, catholicos of all Armenia. The supreme patriarch said that now, at a time of conflict, it is particularly important to promote mutual understanding between people and rule out war as a means of resolving disputes. All questions must be resolved between ourselves solely through dialogue.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Session Continues

LD0108182690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Report by Koryun Khumaryan]

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet session is continuing in Yerevan. Our correspondent, Koryun Khumaryan, reports:

[Khumaryan] The second week of the new Armenian parliament's work is coming to a close. The process of elaborating solutions that would satisfy the representatives of all sociopolitical forces present in the Supreme Soviet, and first and foremost the two most influential ones—the Armenian Communist Party and the Armenian National Movement—is difficult, extremely difficult. Yet the work is going on. Today the session has virtually completed discussing the rules of work and has started on forming the agenda, which most probably will be very broad because a huge number of problems requiring urgent solutions have built up in the republic. One of them undoubtedly is the attitude of the republic's Supreme Soviet to the decree by the USSR president banning armed groupings. Today the deputies returned to a discussion of this question, and expressed extreme concern at the fact that the central mass media are continuing unilaterally to report the essence of the decisions being adopted here. I asked (Babken Araktyan), member of the Board of the Armenian Nationwide Movement and deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet, to comment on the document adopted at the Armenian Supreme Soviet:

[Begin (Araktyan) recording] How were these armed group organized? They were formed at the end of January 1990, when there had been repeated clashes and attacks on Armenian territory, they were formed with the sole aim of self defense, and they carry out this function today. As for this document, since the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic has only just started its work, it has not yet organized itself. The chairman has not yet been elected. The standing commissions have not yet been elected. The Council of Ministers has not yet been formed. In these circumstances, the document must be understood as a proposal from the USSR president to suspend the operation of that law until the republic's parliament finds its feet. We are convinced that the republic's parliament will be able to lay its hands on a settlement of these questions and to normalize the situation in Armenia. [end recording]

Armenian Plane Crashes; Commission Opens Inquiry

LD0108193590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] On 1 August at 1017 in the Stepanakert region, communications were lost with a Yak-40 aircraft of the Armenian Civil Aviation Administration, after it entered the airport zone. It was completing the Yerevan-Stepanakert route. This was reported to the USSR State Aviation Inspectorate [Gosavianadzor].

There were 26 passengers and four crewmen on board. Search and rescue work has been organized and an investigation is being conducted by a commission of the State Aviation Inspectorate.

At the session of the [Armenian] Republic's Supreme Soviet, it was announced that the wreckage and bodies of passengers from the plane were found by a military pilot five hours after the accident in Agdamskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijani President Welcomes Gorbachev Decree

PM0108190290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with A. Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and first secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, by IZVESTIYA special correspondents N. Burbyga and A. Dzhalilov in Baku; date of interview not given: "Weapons Must Not Be Fired"]

[Text] [IZVESTIYA] Ayaz Niyazovich, what is your attitude to the president's decree and what is being done to implement it?

[Mutalibov] The republic was waiting for this document, the measures it enshrines are long overdue and were received with great satisfaction by communists, working people, and all the Azerbaijani people.

For our part, we are not pursuing combat operations, but a kind of front-line zone has formed between the two republics; there are abandoned villages and numerous casualties among the civilian population and servicemen.

I think the decree should put an end once and for all to rampant gangsterism and create the conditions to prevent further bloodshed on the border between the two republics. Our position, I said this at the 28th party congress and I repeat it now, is unequivocal: No one has the right to encroach on the republic's integrity, its constitution, or its sovereign rights.

As to the second part of your question, the republic's law enforcement organs have not been sitting idle since the declaration of the state of emergency. Those guilty of stealing weapons and ammunition have been subjected to criminal proceedings. This alone can explain the fact that there are and have been no troop formations on the territory of Azerbaijan other than the troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Soviet Army.

[IZVESTIYA] The decree defines clearly the time scale for the voluntary surrender of weapons. During that time weapons could be safely hidden...

[Mutalibov] We are prepared for the most resolute measures to confiscate weapons that are retained unlawfully. We see, we sense active assistance in this matter from the labor collectives, the intelligentsia, the clergy,

and all social organizations. They call for reason and responsibility on the part of those who have in their hands weapons that were seized illegally. After all, all those who have taken up these weapons are criminals and gangsters.

And that fact must not be concealed. Things must be called by their names.

The decree by the country's president should be fulfilled by all whom it concerns. After all, it contains demands stemming from the USSR Constitution.

Azerbaijan's Khyzy Rayon Elects First Secretary

NC0208120290 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 31 Jul 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] A party conference has been held in the newly established Khyzy Rayon. The conference examined the question of their organization. Musayev has been elected by secret ballot as the first secretary of the Khyzy Rayon Party Committee. He earlier worked as the chairman of the state committee dealing with refugee affairs for people who had been forced to leave their permanent places of residence.

Gadzhiyev, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee General Affairs Department, addressed the conference. The republic's newspapers published an Azerinform report on the conference today.

Georgian Railroad Blockade at Samtredia Lifted

Rail Traffic Resumes

LD0108143190 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 1 Jul 90

[By GRUZINFORM-TASS correspondent Rem Davidov]

[Text] Tbilisi August 1 TASS—Three alternative bills on general elections in Georgia were published today, one of them sponsored by several mass political associations and movements.

A number of local oppositions organisations have demanded an early parliamentary session to legalise a multiparty system in Georgia.

Their following blocked the railway at the Samtredia station for six days, effectively halting traffic along the Transcaucasian line, to press the demand.

Following agreement between the sides, the opposition pickets left the station at 8:00 this morning, and traffic resumed in both directions.

Damages from the blockade total more than three million rubles.

Georgian President Givi Gumbaridze said that until the republican Supreme Soviet ends its session on August 17 as planned, no measures will be taken to enforce the Soviet president's decree banning unconstitutional armed groups and ordering the confiscation of their weapons.

He explained that if adopted, such measures could disrupt the popular discussion of the election bills and the parliamentary session's normal work.

Organizers' Punishment Sought

LD0208084590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] The movement of trains on the sections of Samtredia and Sukhumi railways was restored at 0700 yesterday. The blockade was lifted. Trains will go to Armenia as well as Azerbaijan.

What is in store for the organizors of the blockade—the representatives of some informal public organizations in Georgia? Comrade (Basov), deputy chief of the directorate for the supervision of the fulfillment of transport legislation [upravleniye po nadzoru za ispolneniyem zakonov na transporte] of the USSR Procuracy, stressed that there is more than one way to answer for interrupting train movement. The Transcaucasian Transport Procuracy has instituted proceedings in accordance with the article dealing with the organization of or active participation in group activities that disturb the peace. One can be sentenced for up to three years of deprivation of liberty. An inquiry is underway. The organizers are being determined.

You will agree that the railway is not the place to settle political scores.

Georgia Delays Implementation of Arms Decree

LD0108123690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] Three draft laws on the elections to the Georgian Supreme Soviet have been published for discussion in Tbilisi. One of them has been proposed by a number of public political associations and movements.

Gumbaridze, chairman of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, stated that the measures flowing from the decree by the USSR president on prohibiting the creation of armed groupings not envisaged by the country's legislation and the removal of weapons in the event of them being kept illegally, will not be implemented before the Georgian Supreme Soviet session completes its work. The reason for this is to avoid obstructing the nationwide discussion of the draft laws and the normal work of the session.

Georgian Organization Leaders Interviewed

90US1127A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian
No 25, Jun 90 pp 9, 16

[Report on interviews with G. Berishvili, T. Zhorzholiani, Z. Gamsakhurdia, and R. Kuprava, leaders of Georgian informal organizations, by SOYUZ special correspondent Aleksandra Lugovskaya: "The Informals of the Transitional Period"]

[Text] Tbilisi, Moscow—I had already been talking for half an hour with Guram Berishvili but without success, so we started to talk about the charter and program of the new Liberal Party. He is one of the sponsors of its creation.

"And how did you suddenly decide to get involved in politics?" I asked Guram Davidovich. He is obviously over 50 and is reserved and even close, not at all like the informal leader of my imagination. He is a scientist, a mathematician, a department chief at the Institute of Cybernetics at the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Academy of Sciences. His judgments are sound, logical, marshaled. He explains that with the emergence of the possibility of political pluralism (the multiparty system was recognized in Georgia in March) he wanted to join a party. But not a Marxist party because the social equality inherent in that had turned out to be deadly for progress.

For what is the Communist Party? It is a detachment of princes who serve to maintain the power of the general secretary, and they joined the party not to manage the country or enrich it with ideas. Now many of them have fled because from the ruling party it has become an ordinary political organization.

"My acquaintances also include many who are leaving the communist ship: in the Central Committee, in the Academy of Sciences.... They were beautifully set up but now they realize that it is disadvantageous to be in the party. This is a symptom. They have a good nose and they are restructuring themselves. But I believe that they are dishonorable. True the communists do still include many who in no way believe in change. They think that the party will still come through for everyone. And they are not leaving."

I journeyed specially to Georgia, or rather to Tbilisi, to learn about the informals. But it was only at the local level that I learned what a fantastically difficult thing this is. And not because not all the parties, but only the largest of them, have their headquarters there, or because it was not possible to find their leaders at home. The difficult lay elsewhere: Whom to choose? Today the informals consist of 130 different parties, societies, movements, associations.... And there is unbelievable political diversity. And my interlocutor told me about the creation of yet another party, the Liberal Party of Free Democrats. Is this not too many?

But G. Berishvili thinks otherwise. He is convinced that the liberal ideal is taking root in Georgian society. It is based on the freedom of the individual and the state safeguarding his rights, and the kind of parliamentary structure that offers the people an opportunity for democratic expression of their will. The Liberals are now preparing intensively for the upcoming elections to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet which, under pressure from certain forces, have been moved from March to November. An initiative group is working on a package of laws—on land, ownership, and so forth—so as to come to the elections not empty-handed but with specific proposals.

But what, I ask, will happen after that? For right now the republic's political life is chaos and confusion. G. Berishvili thought for a while.

"Yes, the political trend has not yet crystallized because a fundamental problem has not been solved, namely recognition of the state independence of Georgia. It is now on the lips of the leaders of all parties. Everyone now wants just one thing: to take up the reins of government and then manage our own small country. And today we are living in a transitional period."

Three days after that meeting the 28th Georgian Communist Party Congress started. On the eve of the congress many people were talking about a split and the proclamation of an independent Georgian Communist Party. The predictions did not come true. They refused me accreditation, explaining that access for journalists was limited...because of lack of seating in the hall. This was unexpected and annoying. The briefing promised for the press also did not take place.

The newspapers published the political report presented by G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary. It said that the tragedy of 9 April 1989 had become a political crisis for the party, a shameful clash with its own people. The party considers the main highway to democracy to be Georgia's sovereignty and the restoration of its statehood. But this is not a one-time act but a very complex and multifaceted, staged process. The foundation has been laid. At the initiative of the Communist Party the republic Supreme Soviet has reviewed certain documents and has recognized that the insertion of troops of Soviet Russia into Georgia in February 1921 was interference (intervention) and occupation for the purpose of overthrowing the existing political system. It also proclaimed the 30 December 1922 treaty on the formation of the USSR to be unlawful for Georgia. The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet resolved that talks should be initiated on restoring the independence of the Georgian state.

It was shown to me that the staged transition to state sovereignty results primarily from the total breakdown of the economy. During the first four years of the five-year plan, national income grew by only 0.4 percent instead of the 19.2 percent planned and growth in industrial output increased only 8.8 percent against the planned 18.8 percent. And it is obviously not accidental,

I was told by N.A. Chitanava, chairman of the Georgian Council of Ministers, in an interview after the congress, that today it is hardly possible to find any political forces, apart from the Communist Party, that would risk assuming the burden of an economy in crisis. They prefer the role of opposition.

At the congress there was talk about the changed political alignment of the Communist Party and the serious tests that the 400,000-strong detachment of communists can expect, namely the upcoming elections for the republic and local organs of power. For the first time they will be conducted on a multiparty basis, and for the first time the Communist Party will be acting in a situation that is new for it—as just one of many. It is impossible to predict the results.

I was quickly convinced that for Georgia the national movement is not some kind of abstract term. The aims of the new parties are not the same, and the means by which they plan to gain power are also not the same. The political weather is now determined by about three dozen organizations, but only a small proportion of them plan to participate in the autumn parliamentary elections. Others, long before they gained the freedoms, had planned a "non-traditional" path for themselves. They boycott parliamentary elections, regarding the parliament as an illegitimate authority. Using political pressure they plan to force the Supreme Soviet to dissolve itself, but not before proclaiming the republic's independence and changing its name. After that an interim government and central electoral commissions will be set up to hold elections for the new state structures.

Until recently the seven parties of the National Forum, which called themselves the uncompromising opposition, supported this method of struggle for power. After the split four parties preserved their earlier stance, entering into a new alliance of parties and the "Round-table" organization. One of the most influential, not only in this bloc but also throughout the national movement, is the Monarchist (conservative) Party of Georgia. I met with the chairman of the Monarchist Party, 40-year-old historian Temur Zhorzholiani.

[Lugovskaya] It is impossible to imagine that the monarchist idea could survive in our society. What do you plan?

[Zhorzholiani] We were surprised ourselves, but in Georgia it has quickly become popular. The party was proclaimed on the second day after the events of 9 April, and in little more than a year has become one of the leading parties with 7,000 members. Moreover, there is also a Monarchist League which is a public rather than a political movement. It has 50,000 supporters of the restoration of a constitutional monarchy in Georgia. The party has branches in all regions and even in the villages.

[Lugovskaya] Can you tell us, please, about the heir to the Georgian throne. Do you maintain contacts with him?

[Zhorzholiani] The Bagrationi family is the most ancient in the world, and Georgian statehood dates back 23 centuries. The heir to the Georgian throne, the son of the late Tsar Irakliya Bagrationi Georgiy, is now living in Spain. He is a kinsman of King Juan Carlos I and the Grand Duke Vladimir Kirillovich Romanov. He is 46 years old and he has four children and is a former racing car driver. No direct contacts have yet been established with him, but we have sent him a letter. And if Georgiy XIV refuses the throne in favor of his son or brother, or if the Spanish branch refuses altogether, then the right of inheritance passes to the Georgian part of the Bagrationi family. But in any event, the Regent's Council of our party is obliged to observe the principle of legitimacy.

[Lugovskaya] What kind of structure does the party have and where does it obtain its finances for political activity?

[Zhorzholiani] The party itself is built on a monolithic structure with a proper hierarchy. Its highest organ is the Regent's Council. We have a great deal of work to do since we are not the ruling party and we do not have our own apparatus. The monarchists rarely hold meetings and rather travel about from region to region meeting with people and doing propaganda work. In addition, we are setting up grassroots and regional organizations so that the Georgian people will later be ready for a federal structure, as for example in the FRG. I believe that I and my party have been entrusted with a mission prescribed for us by politics. We are not professionals and we must be careful and tactful so as to avoid making mistakes or discrediting our idea or allowing it to fail. Finances? From members' dues and income derived from the publication of a newspaper. In addition we are receiving large donations from the old noble families in the republic. The intelligentsia supports us as it does no other party—writers, artists, movie directors.

[Lugovskaya] On the basis of what constitution do you intend to restore the monarchy?

[Zhorzholiani] Various models exist in the world—the British, the Swedish, the Japanese, the Spanish.... But we need our own Georgian constitution, and so our expert scholars are now working to create a constitution. There should be a multiparty parliament with its own prime minister. After the monarchy has been restored our party will merge with the conservative bloc, but the other part of the parliament will be democratic. In and of itself a constitutional monarchy is the highest form of democracy.

[Lugovskaya] And how do you coexist today with the Communist Party? You are diametrically opposed political forces.

[Zhorzholiani] It might be said that we ignore each other. True, when a tense situation took shape in the republic we had to sit at the same table with the communists—the "Helsinki Union," the Party of National Independence, and us, the monarchists. As a result of the talks a

decision was found that was acceptable to all—for the republic in general and for the Georgian people.

[Lugovskaya] What, in your opinion, is the future of the Georgian Communist Party?

[Zhorzholiani] We monarchists are not trying to take revenge and act to have the Communist Party proclaimed unlawful. The entire political spectrum should exist in Georgia, and the people themselves should determine whom they favor. We now have a quite powerful Social Democratic Party and we think that in the future a large number of communists will join it. But we see no problem in that. The social democrats, who ruled Georgia from 1918 to 1921, were unable to preserve its independence and made a number of serious and even fatal mistakes and compromised themselves in the eyes of the people. And they will not soon succeed in winning their support.

[Lugovskaya] But this is still all in the realm of supposition, but the Communist Party remains the ruling party. What steps do you expect from it?

[Zhorzholiani] After the events of 9 April the communists have not engaged in confrontation and have thus partially restored their reputation. But if they take steps similar to the Baltic communist parties, part of the population will tie their hopes of restoring Georgia's independence to it. This will be a kind of rehabilitation for it. Many people hope that the Communist Party will, together with us and the national movement, wage a liberation struggle.

[Lugovskaya] But is it right to solve such a global issue at the level of political parties? Why not hold a referendum? Perhaps 40 percent of the population will want to remain within the USSR if it exists on a federative or confederative basis. Or are you afraid of a referendum?

[Zhorzholiani] In March of this year the present so-called Supreme Soviet recognized that in 1921 Georgia was in fact annexed; and for all these years the republic has been unlawfully part of the Soviet empire. And we believe that no referendum is necessary because Georgia expressed its own will back in 1918. We are not afraid of a referendum now, but of the model that has been approved in the Kremlin. How could it be held under conditions of occupation? And even if today the empire is moving toward confederation, tomorrow it might annex Georgia again. No one trusts it.

[Lugovskaya] How will the many peoples of Georgia coexist and develop, for example, under the conditions of a constitutional monarchy?

[Zhorzholiani] This is, perhaps, the most important question. For 26 centuries Jews, Armenians, and Azeris have lived on Georgian territory, and the Russians and Osettes appeared in the 12th century, and there were no ethnic conflicts. The Georgian tsar was called the tsar of the Abkhaz and Georgians, and so on and so forth. And we hope that a constitutional monarchy is the path that will lead to peace and the consolidation of all forces in society. Our party includes Georgians, Armenians, Jews, Azeris, and Russians. This already indicates that we are interested in putting an end to interethnic conflicts. We have but one country, one motherland, and we should live together.

[Lugovskaya] What do you think of M.S. Gorbachev? Do you believe him? How do you assess his activity in the post of president?

[Zhorzholiani] My opinion is that Gorbachev is an outstanding personality. At this moment he is the embodiment of progressive forces. Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev...They have brought the state onto the right path. But his policy of perestroyka was a necessity. If he had not done this I am sure that the empire would have split and exploded. In form it can be compared to the Romanian empire, but in terms of power... There would be rivers of blood and that would be the end of the empire. Gorbachev is now busy restoring it, trying to preserve it. But he is a clever man and he understands that some concessions must also be made. I personally believe that Gorbachev is a man of common sense and I sincerely wish him success.

The informal organizations in Georgia did not emerge just yesterday. The first such organization was the "Helsinki Group," set up in 1976 after the Soviet Union signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Agreement. It proclaimed as its aim the promotion of compliance with all its provisions in Georgia. But the defenders of right were quickly "repainted" as dissidents, and in the following year, 1977, the leader of the group, a young scholar, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the son of the well-known writer, was arrested. He spent time in prisons in Moscow and Tbilisi, "the psychiatric institutes," as an exile in the Caspian region. Today he is a popular political leader. The "Helsinki Group" that he leads is part of the "Roundtable" party and organization, representing the uncompromising opposition.

I saw Zviad Gamsakhurdia for the first time on a television program in Russian. His dialogue with two army officers was sharp and sometimes harsh. He was rebuking the military people for their involvement in the creation of Interfront, and called them occupiers and talked about their role in the 9 April tragedy. And they, not to be outdone, asked how he saw the achievement of Georgian independence. And what would happen with its economy and the protection of its borders against unfriendly Muslim states. There were mutual accusations, but it reminded me of a conversation between deaf persons. Later I asked Zviad Konstantinovich what is the use and sense of such discussions? What is their purpose? "I entered into dialogue because they publicly demanded from me proof of their involvement in the creation of Interfront, which we regard as a fifth column in Georgian society. And it was still useful because the military is sowing panic among the Russian-speaking population and depicting the informal organizations as some kind of cannibals and shameless fascists who want

to drive out and destroy all non-Georgians. And I wanted people to see that we have no such intention."

My meeting with Gamsakhurdia took place on Machabeli Street at the headquarters of the "Roundtable" party. The newcomers have supplanted the Komsomol Central Committee and now "own" the former private residence of Lavrentiy Beriya.

[Lugovskaya] What is your political goal?

[Gamsakhurdia] An independent Georgia. Free, democratic, Christian. The rebirth of the nation and religion.

[Lugovskaya] How do you intend to achieve this?

[Gamsakhurdia] If we can, we shall force the present Supreme Soviet to dissolve itself, because it is an illegitimate authority. Then, elections, suspension of the so-called Soviet Constitution and restoration of the Georgian Constitution that was in force before March 1921. How all this will be achieved, time will tell.

[Lugovskaya] On what does the realization of your goal depend?

[Gamsakhurdia] A very great deal depends on the political development of the empire and on the position of the mother country. In the meanwhile it is intolerant of these process and is resorting to drastic measures.

[Lugovskaya] On the subject of drastic measures, perhaps your opinion is different, but it seems to me that many of Gorbachev's steps have been dictated by need and rational considerations.

[Gamsakhurdia] By rational considerations to his advantage and the desire to preserve today's empire. This is evident both from his steps and from the sentiments of the corps of deputies: disintegration of the state is impermissible for all. And it is difficult to call this democracy.

[Lugovskaya] It seems to me that the very existence of the national movement itself proves the contrary. But how do you assess the situation in Georgia?

[Gamsakhurdia] The world reacted strongly to the events of 9 April, and this has helped us in our evolution today. Politically Georgia has still not rid itself of the empire, but day-to-day life is becoming freer: freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the general atmosphere. You have seen this for yourself. But the mother country is still very strong, and, moreover, it has changed its tactics in the struggle against us. Open, official repression has been replaced by secret actions and secret sabotage, and setting up agents within our movement. There are splits and confrontation, and once things went as far as shooting...

[Lugovskaya] As far as I know the "Roundtable" Party does not share many of the positions of the Coordinating Center for the National Liberation Movement. What is your attitude toward the elections they have planned for the National Congress, a unique kind of political opposition?

[Gamsakhurdia] Negative, because international law does not recognize parallel unofficial structures. As far as true democratic elections to the national parliament are concerned, this road is acceptable given one condition, namely, that the legitimate population of Georgia is involved. First of all it is essential to legitimize the status of the Georgian citizen, which we intend to do by analogy with Estonia. For 70 years the non-Georgian population on our territory has multiplied so much that the indigenous population has been swallowed up in some regions, and is discriminated against and finds itself in disfavor and is ready to flee. This situation was created artificially by the communists. We regard as the illegitimate population those non-Georgians who forced themselves on us and gave themselves land and housing, and, taking advantage of the lawlessness in the Soviet system and the helplessness of the Georgian nation, became second occupiers. They include Armenians and Azeris, and there are Osettes and Abkhaz—people of various nationalities who are hostile toward the Georgians. But this does not mean that we are acting under a nationalist banner. Our principle and criterion is attitude toward the Georgian nation and our people's struggle for independence. There are many non-Georgians who support us. We welcome them as our supporters and we regard them as the legitimate population. It is a difficult process, but it is already under way.

[Lugovskaya] Tell us, when they called you an anti-Soviet was that offensive?

[Gamsakhurdia] No, on the contrary. I never did consider the struggle against the Soviet empire as something illegal.

[Lugovskaya] Many people remember your speech on television when you barely excused yourself for your anti-Soviet activity. What caused that?

[Gamsakhurdia] Looking for something. Not something patriotic or national. But at that time I was engaged in another kind of activity, namely, circulating a sharply worded proclamation. They threatened me with exile from the USSR and I had to retreat because that could have been a catastrophe for the national movement at that time. And so I effected a tactical withdrawal.

[Lugovskaya] But did you foresee perestroyka?

[Gamsakhurdia] To be honest I did not think that it would come so quickly.

[Lugovskaya] So perhaps it is possible to build a renewed society within the framework of the USSR?

[Gamsakhurdia] The future will tell. We saw how the British Empire was transformed into the British Commonwealth of Nations; this might also happen here. But that road is possible only by offering each republic state

independence. And then, whether or not to join a union will be a true expression of free will. That is the only way.

In the conference hall at the Institute of Contemporary Georgian Political History (until recently the Institute of Marxism-Leninism) representatives from 20 political parties and organizations had gathered. A new bloc was created, and it was decided to call it the Coordinating Center for the National Liberation Movement. Each party has thousands of supporters. Yet another path of the struggle for political power was debated. Yesterday's enemies became fellow thinkers. The Coordinating Center immediately set to work on a project for elections to... a National Congress that in its opinion would become the sole representative organ elected by the people. At first it was assigned the role of political opposition, without any pretensions to power. But like the "Roundtable" Party the National Congress will seek self-dissolution of the Supreme Soviet. And then, on the basis of a constitution that will be drawn up, new elections will be held. And until Georgia becomes independent the National Congress will regulate the entire national movement. The new coalition differs from the "Roundtable" Party in one significant way: The organizations in it are not prohibited from participation in the official elections set for the autumn.

The Ilya Chavchavadze Society is the only form of political struggle that has recognized the elections to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet. Formed in December of 1988, it enjoys a solid reputation and has a membership of 5,000. And suddenly—an unexpected tactical reverse—participation in a political bloc. I became acquainted with R. Kuprava at the time when the coalition was created. He is a member of the Ilya Chavchavadze Society board and a docent at the Tbilisi State Technical University.

[Lugovskaya] Your representatives have joined the Coordinating Center, which plans to set up an opposition parliament. Where will the means come from to hold elections to the National Congress?

[Kuprava] For us the main thing is to have an opportunity to conduct an election campaign. Because the Coordinating Center unites dozens of political organizations it will be able to put pressure on the official government and obtain time on television programs and space in the newspapers. If it succeeds in doing this the elections will take place. And we will find the material means.

[Lugovskaya] What is the thrust and content of your publications? Of the Ilya Chavchavadze Society?

[Kuprava] Purely political: questions relating to theory and practice, and information about the work of the political parties in Georgia and events in all regions. And of course, the most important news from the USSR. We are being helped in obtaining information by the EKSPRESS-KHRONIKA and the Ukrainian Rukh, and we have links with the Baltic. It is a shame that the information from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic is so meager, even though the events taking place there are influencing the entire country.

[Lugovskaya] What kind of information from Russia is of interest to you?

[Kuprava] Official information, of course, which is of some interest, but we do have an interest in information that is never made available to the broad public. What are the motives of particular political actions in Russia and what causes them, and who are the leaders of the political movements? How should this be perceived? Here, for example, they are saying that B.N. Yeltsin is a top leader. We believe that this is not so because there are forces that are not seen on the surface but that nevertheless determine the weather. I do not know if you are aware of the fact that in the West there is a powerful stratum of Russian emigres among whom the question of creating a Russian state has long been exaggerated. Dissidents who leave have maintained links with those who have remained. They are now acting through parties, societies, and organizations. That is, it is not the leaders who are now exerting the influence...

[Lugovskaya] And what do you think about B.N. Yeltsin?

[Kuprava] B.N. Yeltsin is the alternative to M.S. Gorbachev who has been created right from the start.

[Lugovskaya] And if we talk about a political spectrum, where are you? Extreme radicals?

[Kuprava] No, we are not too radical, but the kind that so far has been an irreconcilable opposition which has rejected all Soviet structures. But we have agreed to participate in the elections to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet. Without doubt we are an opposition, but a democratic one.

[Lugovskaya] Do you have your own constructive program, as, for example, for the economy?

[Kuprava] The creation of metallurgical, machine building, and automotive enterprises—the industrial giants of all-Union subordination—were foisted on us from outside. They are harmful to our economy. We believe that we must develop light industry and agriculture. In order to justify and work on these serious programs we are recruiting major expert economists. Both we and all other organizations in the Coordinating Center for the National Liberation Movement are pledged to present our own political, economic, and social models for the development of Georgia.

[Lugovskaya] And are interethnic relations in your field of vision? For in Georgia they have become quite complex and dramatic, have they not?

[Kuprava] On the one hand we are participating in quelling ethnic conflicts, while on the other we are looking for the causes giving rise to them. We have painstakingly established contacts in Abkhazia with the influential public movement "Aydgilara" ("People's

Forum") and with the intelligentsia—writers, scholars, artists—with everyone who is creating the political climate in the autonomous republic. After lengthy negotiations, some steps are now noticeable. But the prospects nevertheless remain dim. It seems to me that we have succeeded in explaining to them the essence of the conflicts and into whose hands they are playing. And this has had a major influence on the attitudes of those circles that previously were very aggressive.

[Lugovskaya] And what do you mean by the mechanism of ethnic conflict?

[Kuprava] We have drawn attention to the following law-governed pattern: As soon as there is an upsurge in the national movement in Georgia, someone becomes associated with it and re-directs its thrust. Serious conflicts break out and our main goal—to restore independence—is pushed onto the back burner, becomes secondary. The first wave, which occurred in Abkhazia, led to the dramatic events of 9 April. It reversed our movement. After we had gathered ourselves together and "come to see reason" a conflict arose with the Azeris living on our territory. Quite unexpectedly and unjustifiably they started to demand autonomy, causing resentment among part of the population. Thank God the conflict was quickly extinguished and incurred no casualties. This displeased someone, and a new hotbed was created, again in Abkhazia, in July of last year: clashes, casualties... A special administration was introduced. But when a special administration is in place, nothing can be done politically. Many national leaders have been shaken by what has occurred.

[Lugovskaya] Whom do you see as the "authors" of this?

[Kuprava] We believe that it is the Kremlin. Always and unambiguously.

[Lugovskaya] I cannot agree with you, not only because it is immoral and inhuman to "shape" such conflicts, but also because it is dangerous—at any moment they could become uncontrollable. Why the Kremlin?

[Kuprava] By the measure of a large country the conflict in Abkhazia is not very big, but for Georgia it is a large region, and the hotbed that has arisen there has paralyzed the entire republic. And with a special administration, even more so. Depending on what is suitable for it, the empire brings this or that mechanism into play. In Latvia, for example, it was Interfront. There is a danger that it will now emerge in Georgia, but we shall never permit it.

[Lugovskaya] And what about democracy? And what do you mean by Interfront?

[Kuprava] Interfront unites mainly representatives of the Armed Forces and their families, and also a Russian-speaking population leaning against the national movement. If Georgia proclaims its independence there will be big meetings and Interfront will strike at us strongly at that moment.

[Lugovskaya] What are the Georgian "Legioni" and "Mkhedrioni" organizations?

[Kuprava] Young people who are preventing the emergence of excesses and bloodshed in particular regions of Georgia have voluntarily joined them. But there can be no question of an army or weapons. Even though they are trying to prove that and present it in this way.

[Lugovskaya] What path of development does Georgia expect, and where do you see your own role in the realization of this?

[Kuprava] For me an independent Georgia is a democratic state developing on the basis of a free market, combing the best qualities of both the capitalist and the socialist systems. With all kinds of ownership. It does us no good to invent a new economic mechanism. We must learn to use those internal regulators that have already been tried and tested over the centuries. I myself do not intent to pursue a career in politics because I am a scientist and I love my profession. I know that great effort will be needed to restore Georgia's independence. And meanwhile my motherland needs help from people like me.

Yes, I may quarrel with the political leaders of Georgia represented here, I may not note or may totally reject everything that they said to me—what was said was obviously not all that there is to say, nor does it represent all the national forces—but one thing is clear: The national movement is capable not only of engaging in dialogue with the Communist Party and government and influencing them but may also sharply change the destiny of the Georgian people.

When the Issue Was being Made Up

The extraordinary session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet started its work on 20 June in Tbilisi. It was preceded by stormy events in the republic's political life. The time when the session was convened was largely determined by the students at the Tbilisi University who went on hunger strike demanding that the Supreme Soviet convene immediately. Those involved in this action were supported by the Georgian People's Front and the parties united in the "Roundtable."

Meanwhile, representatives of another political trend, the Coordinating Council for the National Liberation Movement of Georgia, which unites more than 40 radical and liberal parties, called on deputies not to issue any proclamation on Georgia's independence nor any document proclaiming a transitional period. They stated that any steps in that direction before general, democratic, multiparty elections have been held will be regarded as a political farce. In their opinion, such actions, taken without a mandate from a majority of the electorate, will destabilize the already complicated situation in Georgia.

I think that no independence declaration will be issued. However, it is difficult to predict the situation: The

acting corps of deputies in the republic's top legislative organ are like putty from which one can fashion whatever one desires.

[Signed] Besik Urigashvili, IZVESTIYA special correspondent.

Central Asia

Kazakh Leaders Appeal for Help in Harvesting

LD0108091890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] A rich harvest has been achieved this year by agricultural workers of Kazakhstan villages. But because of the shortage of workers, transport, and spares, and because of irregular supplies of fuel and lubricants, a very complicated situation has established. Rural areas today as never before are in need of concrete help. It can be provided by workers, students, and office workers, and all inhabitants of the republic. Leaders of the Communist Party, trade unions, and the Komsomol of Kazakhstan appealed to them. The appeal is published today in the republican press.

Reportage Views Improving Osh Oblast Situation

Conference Meeting Held

LD0108172690 Frunze Domestic Service in Kirghiz 1200 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] The past 24 hours have shown that the situation [in Osh Oblast] has improved further. All enterprises and establishments connected with consumer services, communications, trade, and public catering are working in the oblast center. Life is returning to normal in the streets and the kolkhoz [collective farm] market is functioning.

In the town of Uzgen, there was an oblast conference between the chairmen of the town and rayon executive committees on the question of housing construction and social, cultural, and leisure activities. Taking part in the meeting were Dzhumagulov, chairman of the Kirgiz Council of Ministers; Fisher, deputy chairman of the republican Council of Ministers; Sydykov, first secretary of Osh Oblast party committee; and Isabayev, chairman of the oblast executive committee.

During the past 24 hours, a total of 35 crimes were registered, including two cases of bodily injuries, four cases of hooliganism, eight thefts, and others. Since the beginning of the mass disturbances, the number of injured, hospitalized, and dead has not changed. A search is being conducted for 87 persons who are missing without trace.

In the past 24 hours, 19 firearms were confiscated in the oblast; 1,684 residents were checked; 88 people who had violated passport regulations were exposed and had administrative measures taken against them; 153 people were detained for violation of curfew, of whom 12 were put under administrative arrest, 117 were fined, and the rest were cautioned.

Oblast 'Stabilizing'

LD0108161690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 1 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The situation in Kirghizia's Osh Oblast is stabilizing. All enterprises and establishments connected with consumer services, communications, trade, and public catering are working in the oblast center. Even so, 35 incidents have been recorded in the oblast during the past 24 hours. If complete stabilization is to be achieved, a great deal of self-possession, patience, humanity, and work is still required. I will remind you that in Uzgen alone over 200 burned-out residential premises will have to be restored and some 100 buildings reconstructed. That is very many for a small rayon center.

A large group of staff from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the USSR Procuracy is now involved in investigating the pogroms and murders, and the reasons prompting the sanguinary conflict.

Uzbek Council of Ministers Resolution Published

LD0208101690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Tashkent: A set of measures aimed at implementing the USSR president's decree banning the creation of armed groups not envisaged by USSR legislation and at confiscating weapons in the event of their being illegally held is envisaged in a resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic published today in the republican press.

The resolution notes that recently in the republic there have been increasingly frequent cases of theft of weapons and ammunition. At present, the loss of 254 weapons is under investigation. Several people have had criminal proceedings instituted against them for stealing weapons and ammunition. Quite a few people have been punished for illegally acquiring, manufacturing, marketing, and carrying weapons and ammunition and explosives.

A plan was approved in the republic for urgent measures to implement the USSR president's decree. For this, it is envisaged to create special working groups under executive comittees of local soviets. Such a group was also created in the government of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.